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NHL: FADE TO BLACK

MACLEAN'S

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FEBRUARY 28 2005



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ARE YOU TALKING TO ME?

Public figures face two audiences: the one in front, and their real/target market

IT'S AN ANXIUM of public life that when you make a speech, you're talking to at least two audiences—the one inside the room, and the much bigger one beyond that often constitutes your real target market. A cabinet minister making a speech in his or her riding may sincerely care about the constituents listening. But he/she usually cares even more about how the speech is received by reporters who interpret it to a national audience—

including the advisors sitting inside the Prime Minister's Office who judge the outcome accordingly. The same is true in arenas when Paul Martin speaks in caucus in closed meetings; he's buying his MPs the message back to their constituents—and these days can also be pretty certain that his comments will be leaked to the media, so he takes that into account as well.

If you have a high enough profile, you presume that pretty much everything you say, even in private, will end up on the public record. Abiding by that presumption is a good way to stay out of trouble, but a bad way to operate if you care about getting things done. Across in point is the fiasco that passed for negotiations between National Hockey League owners, led by commissioner Gary Bettman, and the NHL Players' Association, led by Rob Goodenow (page 18). The two sides spent their time talking at rather than to each other, which is why there was no much chance for agreement. Both sides tried to play over each other's heads to reach the dwindling base of fans who still care about the league. And neither had any interest in following the cardinal rule of real good faith negotiating—that the best deals are those in which both sides feel they've won.

Meanwhile, consider the federal Liberals, whose problem with implementing the Kyoto accord (page 18) is that they don't know which audience they want to speak to—and which one to ignore. The bright hopes and good cheer among environmentalists that accompanied the realization of the accord two years ago are largely gone—not least because, despite the Liberal's pro-environment rhetoric, greenhouse gas emissions in Canada have actually risen 20 per cent since 1990. But that doesn't mean the business

“The two sides spent their time talking at rather than to each other, which is why they couldn't agree.”

TWO HOUSEKEEPING NOTES: First, I'm delighted to see that U.S.-based Ironco's magazine has chosen *Maclean's* Environmental, a subsidiary of IRMO Financial, as its top 2004 annual fund performer. Ham's chairman and chief strategist is our columnist Don Cox, whose financial expertise is matched only by his qualities as a great journalist.

And so you'll find on page 9, Ken Whyte is *Maclean's* new editor/publisher, starting March 14. I'll say goodbye in next week's issue, and Rob Levin will then oversee things until Ken's arrival. See you one more time!

Anthony Wilson-Smith

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Canada's Weekly News Magazine

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I am Julie

Just for kicks, I tried on my wedding dress
It fit perfectly!



What would you do with a few pounds less?

I tried and tried to lose weight on my own for so long. Then a friend of mine told me there are medical weight loss treatments available, and said I should go and see my doctor. I'm glad I did — my doctor was fantastic. If you want to start losing weight, you should ask your own doctor.

Ask your doctor about Julie's story.

MEDICAL TREATMENT OPTIONS AVAILABLE

'Paul Martin's priest says he is undecided on same-sex marriage, yet he concedes that the homosexual act is inherently sinful.' — **Black May Day, Holliston Reg. B.C.**

Same-sex: relenting or repenting

I am pleased to hear Father John Walsh's comments about same-sex marriage ("If there is no place for the sinners, there is no place for me," *The Mail*'s interview, Feb. 14). We need more Church leaders to be as open and loving as he is, instead of being so damn judgemental. I am a straight, fully practising Roman Catholic and I am ashamed of how so many priests bound up with their self-righteousness Sunday after Sunday.

Rosemary Martley, Millford, Ont.



Father Walsh being as merely misguided?

his own priest, Father Walsh, won't support the Church's position on this issue? Both men are misguided.

Herry Lantz, Zurich, Ont.

Sovine big business

Thanks for Brian Segarra's "It's mad cow madness" (Feb. 14). I am the daughter of a software guy who arrived in Alberta in 1983 to open up the country. Our cattle, pigs and chickens are grain grown on our farms.

These members of my family now ranching in Alberta also feed grain to their cattle. So what happens to those animals when they leave the ranch and move to big feedlots to

The hot issues | Anti-Semitism and same-sex marriage still smoulder

Clearly, a lot of hate and gay issues are subjects for genuine criticism. Lately, around the last Peter C. Newman's column *A Matter of Course* (a couple of weeks ago) for his in-jokes and snide remarks about Jews. As for Father John Walsh, he was applauded and editorialized about in equal measure for his remarks about sin and compromise meetings.

Genie Newman, Detroit, Mich.

Is it any wonder our Prime Minister can't remember his support of homosexual marriage relates to his Catholic religion, where

be finished before slaughter? Big business feeds them on the cheap. Why can't these corporations invest in their own farms to grow grains, turn animal parts into food for the soil, and turn the bones and spinal columns as they do in Britain? As for ESE testing, the cost should be borne by the federal government for its allowance of action in this dilemma.

Olga Walker, Sefton, B.C.

Dinner, sure, but no humble pie

Steve Match wrote in his column *All Business* (Feb. 14) that I had not "unintentionally" used the company's dispatchbook (Hollister International) to pay for my wife's \$42,000 birthday party. The dinner in question was a corporate one at year-end, following a directors' meeting, and was attended by almost all the directors and their spouses. Because it happened to be on my wife's 60th birthday, I proposed a toast to her and imported a singer from the Metropolitan Opera House at my own expense to sing her an aria, and paid personally for one-third of the dinner. For Match to compare this to the huge hangovers coming from shareholders billions of dollars, and numerous felony convictions, at Enron and WorldCom (while Hollister shareholders have prospered), is, to say the least, irresponsible. Good corporate governance will not be assisted by the misplaced self-righteousness of demagogues of the press, who in a group have little to teach the business community about ethics.

Colin H. Hink, chairman and CEO, Argen Corp., Toronto

A 'Gas,' pure and simple

One of the amusing delights of *Corner Gas* ("Small-town shenanigans," Profile, Feb. 14) that makes it the most enjoyable sitcom on television today is the happy absence of innuendo, unnecessary and insulting contented laughter.

Terrie Raymond, Georgetown, Ont.

No monopoly on suffering

It is hard to fault Peter C. Newman's assertion that David Abramson should lose his membership in the Order of Canada ("Scrag about anti-Semitism," Feb. 7). Newman's persistence to oust Abramson reminds me of *Macbeth's* King: "There is too many" where our former prime minister refused entry to Jews fleeing Hitler's racism. What



'Silence is the hate-monger's friend,' a warning, 'That's how the Holocaust happened. Remember!'

clear to this Jew in Canada are indifferent. One of the most telling qualities of a nation's identity is how folks behave in the face of injustice. In the case of Jew-hating, Canada appears to ignore what is commonly termed anti-Semitism. And thus silence is the hate-monger's friend. That's how the Holocaust happened. Remember?

Meredith Jew, Erieview, Ont.

I am a member of the Oshagan Nation in B.C., and I say, yes, former national chief of the Assembly of First Nations David Abramson must be removed from the Order of Canada. Yes, he is an entrepreneur whose firm makes every sense of the word, but why give him mention in your magazine? It surely gives him the benefits of a substance. Furthermore, the Jew do not hold a monopoly on suffering and genocide. Jew with an indigenous person. As in *Amnion*, or ask an Irish person being in hell if racism is alive and well. At least Newman can pass for a Gentile. For the rest of us, well, it's got to be back to the bus.

Byron Little, Vernon, B.C.

If Peter C. Newman wants to exact revenge on his nemesis Abramson, he should find a vehicle other than the Order of Canada. This is an honour bestowed on Canadians for their past accomplishments. Besides, I am sure Abramson has learned his lesson

by being ostracized and will, no doubt, be further humiliated in a court of law.

Joe Polachuk, Kelowna, B.C.

Peter C. Newman uses the irresponsible behaviour of 20-year old Prince Harry as the basis for arguing for the abolition of the Canadian model of government that has served us so well. And in using the Nazi sympathies of Edward VIII, Newman overlooks the heroic behaviour of King George VI and his wife, Queen Elizabeth, who, in refusing to leave London during the Blitz of the Second World War, exposed themselves and their family to great danger in order to be among their people. We should at least take the conduct of any future monarch will serve as evidence of a monarch's Canadian. There are already enough Canadian politicians doing that particular job and doing it quite well.

John Thelwell, Deer Mountain, Que.

The money-changers have indeed taken over the temple. And it's greed that keeps us mixed in conflict.

Thanks for the great article on "101 easy ways to save the environment, and money too" (Cover, Jan. 14). I was surprised that

I lived your environment cover package stories. However, the headline should have been "101 ways to save our environment," not the environment. By talking to the environment, we externalize it from ourselves. We need to get used to the idea that the world is our home, it is part of us. And what we do to the world, we do to ourselves.

Gabriel Henley, Winnipeg

Running toward Armageddon

For this reader, the cover of your Feb. 7 issue ("How to get rich in '05") recently identifies the chains of greed that keep us adrift in tragic conflict. Can you go as far as move from an ancient and otherwise well-respected teacher, the money-changers have indeed taken over the temple. As Jesus stated by of sin and other global temptations, the perverted values of financial success have almost eliminated peace, honesty, law, dignity and respect in having any worldly value.

Peter Kowalski, Sefton, B.C.

Local headline: "How to get rich in '05," but didn't bother to read the article. As a handicapped senior trying to get by on a small pension, I have little sympathy for those whose biggest concern is how much more they can pile up, as if they were going to take it with them.

Al Allen Dyck, Sefton, Ont.

WHERE'S THE REMOTE?!

Is it under the couch? Or is another COUNTRY? Now it really could be ANYWHERE. That's because the new Toshiba Cinema™ notebook AND its portable home entertainment centre ALL IN ONE! See if you can find the Cinema remote in this "remote" Adventure jungle!



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ANNOUNCEMENT

KENNETH WHYTE APPOINTED AS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF AND PUBLISHER OF MACLEAN'S

I AM DELIGHTED to announce that Kenneth Whyte has been appointed to the position of editor-in-chief and publisher of *Maclean's*.

Ken's strong intellect and passionate commitment to readers make him the ideal choice to lead *Maclean's*. Over his 20-year career in Canadian journalism,

he has demonstrated an unparalleled commitment to editorial excellence. Born in Winnipeg and raised in Edmonton, he held his first editorship at the *Sherwood Park News* at the age of 21. He later served as executive editor of *Alberta Report* magazine and moved to Toronto in 1994 as editor-in-chief of *Saturday Night* magazine. He is perhaps best known as the founding editor and deputy publisher of the *National Post*.

Ken will join *Maclean's* shortly after Anthony Wilson-Smith departs at the end of this month. Tony has shown exceptional leadership and vision in guiding the magazine through a profound and positive period of transition over the past four years. During his tenure, *Maclean's* has been nominated for a record number of peer-generated industry awards. It has also maintained a regular audience of close to three million readers. On behalf of Rogers Publishing, I want to thank Tony for reinvigorating *Maclean's* and bringing its readers a new generation of dynamic voices.

In a fast-paced world of headline news from often unreliable sources, a comprehensive and intelligent weekly news magazine is more relevant than ever. Under Ken's leadership, *Maclean's* will continue to deliver fresh, dependable reporting on national and international affairs, as well as a variety of provocative opinions from some of the country's liveliest columnists. He



will hold the magazine to high standards of journalistic quality and maintain the uniquely Canadian perspective that has become *Maclean's* signature.

I am especially pleased to announce Ken's appointment at the start of the magazine's 100th year of publishing. It is the first of many new elements we have in store for our readers in celebration of our centennial. Among them will be a cross-country speakers series titled "In Conversation With *Maclean's*," the publishing of a book on *Maclean's* coverage of Canada since 1905 titled *Canadian Obsessions*, and a special anniversary issue in October of this year.

**Mark Blomfield, Senior Vice-President,
Rogers Consumer Publishing**

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UPFRONT

Mansbridge on the Record



SKATING ON THIN ICE

The NHL owners and players need to
make the game better—and quickly

IN THE OLD DAYS, it was the players who
were the ones deserving of our sympathy. For
decades, they were treated like pieces of
meat, bought and sold, traded and dropped at
the whim of whomever, more often than not,
was some cigar-smoking, shady millionaire.
Management would be about how much
money that season was making to justify the
players' relatively meagre salaries. And to
make matters worse, some of the people
the players trusted to represent them turned
out to be liars and cheats. It was a pathetic,
one-sided business where a player's ability
and dedication to the game meant very
little, and too many of them, even heart-
breaking, sporting rivalries and broken
dreams are now a part of hockey history.

But those days are long gone—or so we
have been led to believe by a very slick own-
ers' presentation on the state of the business
of hockey. The many ills of today's game,
if you buy into the polished spin, are tied
directly to our oft-cited players' selfish
first money fix, it's only to agree, especially
when you discuss players can now earn more
in a year than other people make in a life-
time. Some of the players have a hard time
understanding that fans do make their con-
tribution—and that they make it constantly.

Just last week, I
heard one player on
an open radio pro-
gram saying that he
wasn't sure just how
much the NHLPA, his
union, was paying him
while the career hit
was dragged on. Why?
Because he hadn't had
the financial need to
open his mind. Now
consider this—most
players haven't re-
ceived an NHL pay
check since last April,

and from what I've read, the NHLPA's
monthly payment is a \$10,000. And he
hadn't needed it? Hard for fans to identify
with that.

Just as it was hard for fans to identify with
the players' lengthy, but now abandoned,
opposition to the owners' insistence on a
salary cap. After all, almost two-thirds of
the players have been passing the time by
playing in other leagues, including ones in
Europe where salary caps are the accepted
method of business.

The owners have benefited from this pub-
lic perception, and they know it. In the first
days of the dispute, NHL commissioner
Gary Bettman made much of the fact that
most of those maintaining the situation
blamed the players, not the owners, for
the fact that no games were being played. And
it seems that in the intervening months,
Bettman's message of keeping individual
owners pegged has proved that support.
In the old days, you could always count on
a Harold Ballard or someone of like ilk to say
something that would hurt the owners' cause,
but if there were Ballbans out there
this time, they've had socks in their mouths
since September.

Where does hockey go now, and just as
important, does anyone really care? At my
son's hockey games, I haven't heard any-
one talking about the NHL for months.
When the game finally does get going again,
the players and the owners are going to
have to earn that interest back again. But
hockey's problems go far beyond the follow-
ing lock-out dispute. So when they're fi-
nished carving up the cash, they might want
to go down to making the game better—
and quickly if that, then they'll have learned
nothing from the fact most Canadians are
getting along just fine without them.

Peter Mansbridge is Chief Correspondent of CBC
Newsline News and Editor of The National.
He co-wrote "Let's Get Real" with
Maurice.

FaceTime



Father of the flag
Not to flag lovers.
According to tradi-
tion, the Canadian
flag must always fly
from its own pole,
and must never be
worn as an or de-
corative scale. It
should never be used
as a tablecloth, seat
cover, or banner on
a platform—though
it can be framed in a
private ceremony
once it's past its
useful life. A new
practical symbol, em-
ployed occasionally
even by American
tourists, the Maple
Leaf turned 40 last
week and in readers
of its politically
correct birth. Among
those at the birth-
day celebration was
the man often called
the father of the
flag though he

wasn't the title:
John Matheson, 87,
a war hero, former
Liberal MP from
London, Ont., and
retired judge. Math-
eson headed the
parliamentary com-
mission that exam-
ined some 2,000 de-
signs, and even the
last down to three,
and then shrank in
the winter past
as outgrown. "I'm
leader John Perle-
hake, the Royal
Canadian Legion,
and even Liberal PM
Jean Chrétien, who
had wanted a flag
with blue borders.



Sanctuary
This was the latest
symbol of Ottawa's
terrible relationship
with potential
refugees. But after
500 days of wait-
ing, a decision was
made in a Montreal
court, the Vign
family from Colombia
was granted the
possibilities of a
new life in Canada.
Alvaro Vign, a former
university director
in Bogotá and a
outspoken labour
activist, will now be
allowed to study for
a master's degree in
law at the University
of Ottawa, where they
live for 18 months
while Ottawa and
refugee leaders quar-
relled over the
notion of sanctuary.
It is the third of three
sanctuary cases to
be resolved since
December.

led Colombia in
1980, on a tour
with his wife
claiming to have
been tortured for
his political views.
But when Canada
denied the family
refugee status in
2003 on the basis
of a brief interview,
they took shelter in
the basement of St.
Andrew's Roman-
Catholic United Church,
where they lived
for 18 months while
Ottawa and refugee
leaders quarrelled
over the notion of
sanctuary. It is the
third of three
sanctuary cases to
be resolved since
December.

WORLD

SHORTS The Shia alliance backed by Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani was 48 per cent of the vote in the Islamic Iraqi parliament and will now control a slim majority of seats in the 275-member National Assembly, according to final results. That leaves the Sunnis short of the two-thirds majority needed to effect constitutional change. To do that they will have to co-opt some with Kurdish parties, which were 75 seats, and perhaps real Sunnis, who largely boycotted the vote but are now trying to negotiate a way to be represented in the new legislature.

SPY CHIEF Career ambassador John Negroponte, 65, the U.S. envoy to Baghdad since before that the UN, will be George W. Bush's new national intelligence director. The high-profile post was created to oversee the direction of Washington's 15 security agencies, including the CIA and FBI, and to control bureaucratic infighting.

GAZA After months of wrangling and shifting alliances, Israel's Knesset approved Ariel Sharon's controversial plan to remove approximately 21 Jewish settlements from the contested Gaza Strip. A \$1-billion fund was set up to compensate settlers.

MINING BLAST At least 210 miners were killed and dozens injured in yet another deadly gas explosion in a Chinese coal mine. The worst mining disaster in China since the 1940s, it continues a grim pattern that has made the Chinese coal industry among the most dangerous in the world.



AMERICAN JUSTICE A 15-year-old Florida boy who killed his grandparents, claiming to have been intoxicated by the antidepressant Zoloft, was convicted of murder and sentenced to 30 years in prison. He was 12 at the time of the incident. The boy felt the drug had a negative effect on his behavior, but not enough to make him kill, one juror said.

THIRD TERM British PM Tony Blair made it official: he told party faithful he wants a third term and intends to lead Labour into the election expected in May. Battered over the war in Iraq, Blair's Labour Party currently has an 11 percentage point lead over the Conservatives, according to one poll.

RECESSION Japan suffered a mild recession in 2004. The world's second-largest economy contracted during each of the last three quarters in 2004, but had such a strong start to the year it finished with 2.6 per cent growth overall.

ROME It wasn't built in a day, but it may well have been built around 753 BC, as legend has it. An Italian archaeologist has discovered the ruins of an enormous palace underneath the Roman Forum that date to the exact period when the city was said to have been founded by Romulus, an abandoned newborn son of Mars, the god of war.

HEALTH | SCIENCE

MEDS In the wake of the Vioxx debacle, in which the popular pain medication was withdrawn after a study said it provoked heart attacks, both Canada and the U.S. moved last week to tighten their drug approval systems.

Canadian Health Minister Ujal Dosanjh said he wants more public input, possibly even public hearings, before new prescription drugs are approved. He also said he is considering an independent agency to monitor new drugs already on the market, as the U.S. is now doing.

OLDEST HUMANS The bones of the earliest known Homo sapiens were uncovered in 1967 in Ethiopia. Now, a new examination of the volcanic ash that surrounds them suggests these humans roamed the African plains about 195,000 years ago, which is at least 35,000 years farther into the mists of time than previous estimates.

CANADA

GUNPLAY Criminals in Ontario are finding guns for the weekend the way some people find videos, the province's attorney general said. The practice is making it difficult for police to trace weapons because they are being used in unrelated crimes. The comments followed a wild weekend in Toronto in which two people were killed and seven injured in five separate shootings.

POLITICS The minority Liberal government suffered its first parliamentary defeat when the Conservatives unexpectedly joined with the Bloc Québécois and NDP to push a bill that would have split the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. The

LAST HUNT Britain's partying socialist up for the first legal time—on a mostly drizzly Thursday—as the Labour government's controversial ban on hunting foxes with dogs comes into effect. Even Prince Charles joined in for a last ride with a favourite party of hounds.

vote was not considered one of non-confidence, and the Liberals are trying to find ways to go ahead with the move despite the setback.

The B-C agreement set the table for the

BY PATRICK LAUGHTON



MISTRIAL Two days into jury deliberations, an Ontario judge declared a mistrial in a sensational case involving three Toronto teens alleged to have lured and stabbed to death the 12-year-old brother of one of them in November 2003. Wide-area postings by a key Crown witness, the girlfriend of the older brother, convinced the judge the night had ended on the stand.

The get tape recorded the now 18-year-old boy bragging he was going to murder his family and testified she believed it to be true. But her Web postings, revealed by the *National Post*, suggested she shared the boy's interest in Goth culture and voodoo, backing the defense position that his boasts were made up to impress her and that the crime was not premeditated. The Crown will use the three tapes.

Mary Janigan | ON THE ISSUES



DO SOMETHING ALREADY

Liberals hope their convention next month will help get the Martin government going

WHENEVER HE HEARS chatter about an early election, Liberal Senator David Stronach inevitably recalls the time the Grits asked pioneering U.S. pollster Louis Harris to determine their support. Awed by his sophisticated methods and seated by the demands of minority governments, they were beset by the notion that they would make a comfortable majority. So, less than 2½ years after the April 1963 election, the Liberals pulled the parliamentary plug. And was another minority? It was a tough lesson: Harris forgot to ask how Canadians would feel about a government that called an election for no good reason. And that wisdom applies today. "The doctrine has died: it was appropriate for us to have a minority," says campaign adviser Smith. "And they think we should make it work."

So, finally, after flourishing through their first 14 months in office, after belatedly rescinding their standing in the polls but barely budged since the June 2004 vote, the Paul Martin Liberals are scrambling to "make it work." It isn't easy. Theoretically, it should be. Their Conservative opposition is so divided that the new party sits usually split into Tory and Alliance camps. And at least one aspect of the Liberal

So why does the Martin government seem so unfocused, so incoherent? It says all the right things about everything from crime to child care. Its jargon about a "transformation" to deal with "transformative issues" is impressive. And this week's budget will spell out ambitious initiatives in virtually every area of policy. But despite the consistent flurry of announcements and, often, re-announcements, nothing much actually gets done. "The PM's actually good at articulating ideas," says an Ottawa policy insider. "But he's a bit of a mess—like, he had great control. Martin does not seem to have a practical grasp of how to get from A to B."

Most abundant on how to remedy this inertia. Perhaps Martin should appoint an experienced manager as deputy prime minister who does nothing but oversee what various ministers are doing on each issue, nudging them along and give practical guidance on how to make progress. The ideal candidate for this admittedly tentative job would be Finance Minister Ralph Goodale.

Then there's old ad: among within Martin's own office. It is so bad that a blue ribbon team of the most political leaders, mixing a Second World War idea, offered to become 50-year volunteers—and tackle the backlog of decisions. (The PMO gratefully rejected their proposal.)

In frustration, many Liberals are focusing on the party's March 3-6 Ottawa workshops. They hope the policy workshops, debating everything from social to foreign policy, will guarantee new ideas and badly needed momentum. And, although the spotlight will inevitably be on the remote vote on Martin's leadership, many also want to end to internal splitting. Such results would be good for all Canadians. A little efficient government, for a change, could go a long way. **E**

Mary Janigan is a political and policy writer. maryjanigan@maclean.ca

Passages

DEAD The long-serving CEO of Loblaw Bros. was, Peter Widdiford, was one of Canada's top business execs. He was also a keen baseball fan who was instrumental in bringing the Blue Jays to Toronto, and served as team chairman during the glory years of the early 1990s. He died of a heart attack after skiing in Aspen, Colo. He was 75.

RETIRED Leaving at the top, after 13 seasons, Edmonton Oilers manager Bala mowing back Mike Pringle, 57, jumps up his class in Canadian football's leadership. He was first in the past couple of CFL. He died with Saskatchewan's legend George Reed for most touchdowns, 137.

RECOVERING NDP Leader Jack Layton, 54, was convalescing at home in Toronto after undergoing an emergency appendectomy. He was admitted to hospital on Feb. 13 with acute stomach pain and nausea.

ALING Dr. Roger Penik, 64, the head of the Canadian Red Cross blood program in the 1970s and '80s, when thousands were infected with HIV and hepatitis C, in a blood scandal, says he is now with heart problems to stand trial. His lawyers asked that criminal charges of negligence be stayed.

FINED Ted Thorne, 71, leader of Montreal Canadiens' police force, was fined \$1,000 for leading a family home visiting and possessing a restricted weapon. Four half-brothers of the star goalie also pleaded guilty in the case, in which police seized over \$600,000.

DIED Her name was Fatima, Portugal, was a sacred Catholic shrine. In 1973, Lucia Maria was one of three young women who said the Virgin Mary came to them in a field, predicting the future. The last woman, Maria, a nun, died in a convent near Lisbon at 97.



Spying | STELLA RIMINGTON, FORMER HEAD OF BRITAIN'S MI6

'MY DAUGHTER NEVER KNEW WHOM SHE COULD INVITE HOME'

DAME STELLA RIMINGTON is a slight, charming, 68-year-old grandmother and a first-time novelist, author of the sophisticated espionage thriller *At Risk*. She's also the former director-general of MI6, Britain's foreign-espionage intelligence service. As the first woman to hold that post, Rimington has an insider's perspective on everything from the struggle against international terrorism to the problems of a single mother in the secret world.

In the U.S., intelligence services were turned upside down by the events of 9/11. Has it been the same in Britain?

Not to the same degree. We've had terrorism in Europe since the late '50s, though Cold War espionage was the main threat until the IRA took us campaign on Britain and the Continent in the mid '80s. And I hadn't had the job of director of counter-

terrorism for five minutes when Lockerbie happened, bringing international terrorism to us in a big way.

So you didn't need a rethink course from your old colleagues to craft the latest terror plot of *At Risk*?

The procedures and pressures now are the same as any time: putting together snippets

of information amid the rivalry and to operation of different agencies. Rivalry exists, of course—between MI5 and MI6 [British internal and external security services], CIA and FBI—but it's exaggerated by the press and good novels. And an irrational co-operation has been greatly improved, much of it coming from places we never got it from before, like Russia or Pakistan.

As a single mother with an undercover career, your private and working lives had more than one high-tension collision. There was a transit strike incident?

Harris, my 10-year-old daughter, was stranded in her school on the other side of London, just when I had a meeting scheduled—in any event that, under my covert name—with a source. She says we were hoping to turn. The flat, luckily, was near the school. I told her how to walk there, and another's room in my apartment should ask what she was doing there. When I arrived, I made her something to eat and she had her in the bedroom to do her homework. Heaven only knows what she thought was going on.

It was worse for her later, though, when you became the public face of MI6?

Harris was 17 in late 1998 when I became director-general. I didn't know until prime minister John Major offered me the job that he was also going to make the DGC's name public for the first time. The school was mid-year—they camped outside our rather on-the-way house. I was so frightened for Harris—the IRA was targeting British arms and security personnel then. We had to tell and move. We stayed out of sight for four years. This was hard for a teenage girl, she never knew whom she could even confide in.

What effect has the entry of women had on the intelligence services?

Much of what counter-espionage does in other nations and put pieces together. Again, running actually requires a lot of what is called feminine skills—sympathy, insight, or caring.

Those sound like a novelist's requirements. Spies and writers do use the same analytical parts of their brains, and they both need imagination, but a novelist needs more of that than a spy. What both require above all is an interest in people. **DEAN KAHN**

KYOTO SHELL GAME

We signed on with a flourish, and then the backsliding began, writes CHARLIE GILLIS

IT'S A TRUE believer's kind of tale. The day after Canada officially ratified the Kyoto Protocol on climate change in December 2002, David Anderson sat in New York City to deposit the freshly signed paper with the Treaty Section of the United Nations. It was his shining moment as federal environment minister: an avowed realists and an unblemished track record. Anderson had spent three years leading opponents—and sometimes cabinet colleagues—over a deal he firmly held to be a turning point in the war against global warming. Now, after waiting for his boss, Jean Chrétien, to publicly commit to the accord, Anderson

was realizing a dream. That evening, with Chrétien's signature proudly dry on the parchment, the veteran cabinet minister sucked the document under his pillow for safekeeping, and literally slept on the object of his triumph. "I was damned if someone was going to break into my room in the middle of the night and steal my precious deal," he says. "Even when we went out to a restaurant for dinner, I put it in the middle of the table so we could all keep an eye on it."

Sentimentality? Definitely Farouk! Perhaps. Whatever it was about the Kyoto accord that stirred such emotions two years ago seems like a distant memory, to the point where neither proponents nor critics of the deal give it much chance of making a difference in Canada. The week the Martin government will take its first tentative steps toward implementing the deal with a budget laden with efficiency incentives, plus a partnership fund designed to get the provinces moving on their own production, it also will do so against a backdrop of disappointment and failure. Since the ratification of the protocol in 1990, greenhouse gas emissions in Canada have climbed some 20 per cent (as of 2002), and all signs suggest those numbers have increased since Anderson's glory time in New York two years ago. "I don't see any hope of our getting to our targets,"

says David Schneider, a biologist at the University of Alberta who has long agitated far across on climate change. "I can remember attending meetings on this very problem in the 1970s. To be sitting here over 30 years later and have nothing in the way of policies in place is pretty disgusting."

So why, after all the sound and fury, have we backslid so far? Optimism, say, and—let's be frank—Kyoto is nothing if not a political

WHATEVER It was about this accord that stirred such emotions when it was signed seems like a distant memory

football. But more critics agree on the basic arena that have led us to our current dilemma, where reaching our stated goal of cutting emissions six per cent below 1990 levels by 2010—a reduction of at least 240 megatonnes per year—would require a slew of resolve we simply don't have. For starters, we've underestimated the benefits of voluntary measures and incentives, thinking goodwill and a bit of financial assistance would propel Canadians to re-evaluate their habits or trade in their sport utility vehicles



Some, there's wind power, but our emissions have climbed some 20 per cent since 1990

Second, we've banked on "carbon sink" credits (for improvements in forestry and agriculture that would lower CO₂ levels), but because of factors such as faster fires and beetle infestations we might not get the benefits we hoped for.

Our most generic, and perhaps most foreseeable, mistake was looking ourselves into a mirror we could do our part under Kyoto without inflicting pain on so-called large fossil emitters. These are the energy-intensive utilities, oil and gas companies and manufacturers that heat our homes, supply us with cheap electricity, provide decent incomes to tens of thousands of Canadians—and are responsible for about half of the country's greenhouse gas emissions. Under Ottawa's 2002 proposal, these firms will pay no more than \$15 per tonne for emissions permits for exceeding their government-set targets, with Ottawa likely paying the balance if the price goes higher. The oil and gas sector, meanwhile, got an even perk out of no more than 15 per cent below 2010 projected emissions levels.

The deal was regarded at the time as a political necessity: oil interests, along with the Alberta government, were mounting a formidable lobby against Chrétien's plans to ratify Kyoto. But government insiders now see it as an enormous impediment to implementing the accord, because of oil and gas industry production estimated 20 per cent of Canada's greenhouse gas emissions—number that is expected to increase. "We think that was a mistake," said one federal official, who requested anonymity. "But there's not much we can do."

None of this would seem so painful if we didn't appear destined to repeat many of the very same blunders. Last month, reports surfaced that large fossil emitters are

close to a deal with Natural Resources Canada that would cut their targets significantly lessened. Originally, they were to reduce greenhouse gases by 35 megatonnes below their projected 2010 emissions levels, now estimated to be some 390 megatonnes. That reduction target may now be decreased by 30 megatonnes.

To Matthew Bramley, a climate change specialist with the pro Kyoto Pembina Institute, all points to their failure on Canada's part to reach its Kyoto goals, or at the least to pay for federal taxpayers as the government buys up international emission credits to meet its obligation. "You can't have a credible plan that asks so little of those responsible for 50 per cent of Canada's emissions," he says from his Ottawa-area office. "It's not industry that's securing these reductions, it falls to the taxpayer to purchase them." Federal documents leaked earlier this month to the media showed the Prime Minister's Office has been toying with the idea of buying international credits, possibly from Russia. The price a coal \$1.4 billion over

five years, and even then we'll have done practically nothing to curb our own emissions. And wasn't that what the whole thing was supposed to be about in the first place?

IT ALL HAS the feel of another debate that goes, where the burden of reductions comes down to shifts, and the federal taxpayer loses.

MOST critics agree that reaching our stated goal for emissions cuts requires a brand of resolve we just don't have

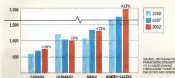
his head around Kyoto. It's tempting to write off the whole mess as federal handwringing and move on. It was Ottawa, after all, that adopted the accord back in 1997, then reneged it five years later while the world's top emitter of greenhouse gases, the U.S., opened up. Shouldn't the government have foreseen the obvious roadblock? Shouldn't Ottawa

have known the price of bringing industry onside was too high, and that it had to either leverage the requirements outright or scrub the concept altogether?

Yes, assuredly, to all of the above. Of course, that assumes government operates free of the oldest forces in Canadian politics—regional agitation, personal rivalry, old-time pork-barrelling. It also ignores the screaming cry of paid lobbyists on Parliament Hill. If history is any indicator, the Martin government is facing those same pressures as it attempts to assemble its own implementation plan. For months after Clinton committed Canada to the accord, Anderson says he found himself pondering with ministers who had plainly been influenced by the big money interests affected by their departments. "They'd say, 'Yeah, I realise the prime minister and cabinet have made a decision on this, but I represent X, Y or Z and you're really going to have to persuade my people,'" I'd say, "Come on now, it's the other way around. We've made the decision, they have to put it into

MEASURING THE INVENTORY

In total megatonnes, Canada emits less of the six greenhouse gases covered by the Kyoto Protocol than some other leading industrial nations, but these emissions are growing at a faster rate. Annual rates and percentage change, 1990-2002



SOURCE: ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY, U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY, "ANNUAL INVENTORY OF GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS AND REMOVALS"

effect. I don't have to persuade anyone."

That's not, Anderson now acknowledges, how it worked in practice. When Paul Martin announced his cabinet after the election last June, the green-friendly MP from Victoria was conspicuously absent, and Kyoto seemed to fall off the agenda. Anderson hasn't exactly been hiding his bitterness. firing him from cabinet, he says, sent a signal to critics that the Martin government was less serious about implementing Kyoto. In the meantime, various departments—Natural Resources, Industry, Agriculture and Trade—put "blended themselves to be captured by special interests," he says. "You didn't you had one horse in the track facing north and another horse facing south. This was not a team."

Which likely news of Ottawa has any hope of restructuring the protocol—something senior ministers claimed was on the cards in the lead-up to this week's budget. As Kyoto officially took force after international law last week, sources said the PMO had taken sudden interest in the issue, deciding once and for all that Kyoto was something worth making the country's national reputation on. Martin reportedly called a team of expert advisors to guide the process, while Stéphane Dion, the current environment minister, has spent the past few weeks trying to negotiate a voluntary emissions reduction package with the auto sector (page 24).

The government had hoped to have a full implementation plan on the table by last week—including tax measures, draft legislation or so-called "regulatory looksgaps" that would force heavy emitters to meet their targets. "Some targets will be made easy," Dion

told Maclean's in an interview, "as will be the case with the large steel emitters, the 700 facilities that are under up half of our greenhouse gas emissions." But last-hour negotiating has delayed the package, and officials with Environment Canada now say key elements won't be ready for several more weeks.

The delays have fuelled cynicism among observers, who know the attitude signs of political post-rigging are well. "Big lead-up, promises of grand new initiatives and looks of all sorts of recycled ideas," says Ross McKinnis, an environmental economist at the University of Guelph, who's been following the Kyoto process for years. "You see the announcement of the plan has been delayed again until after the budget. And by all indications, it's going to contain some of the same old things in fancy, new clothing, some subsidies for energy efficiency and a promise to negotiate targets for the other 190 affected."

Whatever it contains, the facts would be well-served to get it on a fast track. Last week, Martin announced that Montreal will have the next international conference on climate change, where the 134 countries that have agreed to Kyoto will meet to discuss their progress. After years of meetings, the PM badly needs some tangible goals to report at this meeting, next December—if not for those who would judge as from abroad, then at least for Canadians who once took pride in our decision to join the Kyoto process. One would have, after all, to think David Anderson kept that piece of statutory under his pillow for nothing. ☐

chart by gilles/maclean's reporters

THE GREEN STATES

Washington may be slow, but others are picking up the slack

GEORGE W. BUSH'S pro-business agenda is enough to make anyone environmentalist cry. According to the New York City-based Natural Resources Defense Council, the Bush administration took nearly 150 measures in 2004 alone that undermine legislation protecting air, water, wildlife, forests, parks and public health. Still, it's not rare for a politician to flip-flop. It's not rare for the Kyoto Protocol, but provides outrage in many places around the globe. The 1997 international accord, to reduce greenhouse gas emissions blamed for global warming, came into effect last week. But without the world's largest emitter of heat-trapping pollutants among the signatories to the pact, many are questioning just how effective it can be.

Bush at least accepts the scientific consensus on global warming. His objection to Kyoto, he says, is what it would cost the U.S. economy. He didn't want to set voluntary targets and developing new energy technologies to reduce the nation's reliance on burning fossil fuels, but some states are

stepping into the legislative void—and their initiatives could prove significant. After all, one of Washington's strongest environmental regulations had been the original state-level. This one around, states are setting a number of measures, from encouraging consumers to opt for energy from renewable sources, to setting industry caps to reduce emissions.

Many eyes are on California where a major battle with the auto industry is raging up. Last September, after two years of deliberations, the state adopted landmark legislation requiring car manufacturers to reduce emissions of heat-trapping gases by about 10 per cent by 2016. But five major automakers have joined in a legal action, claiming California lacks the authority to enact such legislation. Anne Poole, an international counsel with Environmental Defense in Washington, says the suit makes little sense, especially as several of the manufacturers that have already invested in more fuel-efficient technologies would actually receive their profits if the California standards were adopted. She adds,

"What's crazy is that the public wants cleaner cars, the car companies advertise cleaner cars, yet there's going to court." The right states already moved to adopt the California standard will not doubt follow the case closely.

Some states have had more success regulating power generators. In Idaho, 35, along with the District of Columbia, require utilities to gradually increase the amount of electricity they supply from renewable resources such as solar, wind and biomass. This is intended to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by 44 megatonnes by 2015, the equivalent of taking 3.5 million cars off the road. Recently, Idaho's highest state is considered a clean-power success story. Already well ahead of its 2005 interim target, it was expected capable of generating the required 2,000 megawatts from renewable resources by 2008. Observers attribute this not only to the Lone Star state's abundant renewable energy resources, but to a number of key provisions in the legislation that gave utilities significant input into law in 1989. After that, significant financial penalties to electricity providers that fail to meet targets. Search for voluntary

BARBARA WIDGES

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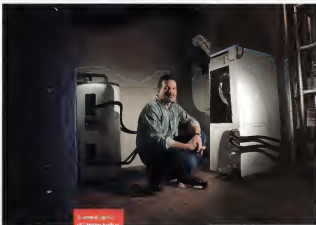
POWER HUNGRY

There are energy alternatives out there, but governments have to get behind them, writes DANYLO HAWALESKHA

CANADIANS ARE now committed to the reduction of greenhouse-gas emissions under the Kyoto Protocol, even though Ottawa may not have a well-developed plan. But Dean Scemmler does, and he's a good six years ahead of the government. In 1999, Scemmler started building his 2,400-sq.-foot home near Scammonville, Minn., about 50 km north of Winnipeg. First, the firefighter and father of four built his two-story dwelling to the federal government's R-2000 standard, so his place is airtight and about 30 per cent more energy efficient than a conventional home. Then, for about \$3,800 more than the cost of ordinary electrical heating and central air conditioning, Scemmler, 43, put in a geothermal pump to draw energy from the ground. Living in a part of the country where the temperature can often nosedive below -30° C, Scemmler says he pays an average of \$50 a month for heating. "It's just like Rick Mercer says—take the one time challenge," he jokes, referring to the popular comedian's ad campaign to encourage Canadians to reduce their greenhouse-gas emissions. "Well, I'm sure we'd pass."

Many others wouldn't. But collectively, our best bet in meeting our Kyoto obligation seems to depend on the willingness of individuals, governments and industry to conserve more—and go whole hog on clean and renewable energy. The trouble is, governments that go behind a technology or initiative with real money or tough regulations. That hasn't happened to any great extent. Now, Canada faces the challenge of finding the right mix of energy alternatives, from wind to geothermal to solar. And, in one province, the situation is looking too head-pattingly fine. With plans to close six five coal-fired power plants by 2007, Ontario will lose up to one-quarter of the power it now generates, leaving lawmakers facing a tough question: where does nuclear energy fit in?

On the geothermal front, Minnesota has



Scemmler's geothermal pump draws energy from the earth to heat his new home north of Winnipeg.

been aggressive, with 600 new heat pumps installed last year, up from 512 in 2003 and 190 in 2000. In Scemmler's case, a pump draws water from deep in the Earth, circulates it energy through a heat-transfer system, and pumps the cooler water down a second well. Manitoba's success stems in part from the province's willingness to offer incentive loans of up to \$15,000 under a program that, according to Manitoba Hydro, has led to over 1,250 tonnes in emissions savings a

year. In Alberta, land of the oil sands and ranch fire and land of Kyoto, the province now requires that 90 per cent of the power for government buildings come from renewable and alternative energy sources, wind power from Fischer Creek, and biomass energy from burning bark, woodchip and pulp-waste from Grande Prairie. Governments at all levels, says John Bennett, a senior policy adviser with the firms Golder & Canada, have to make a conscious effort to back reasonable

in comparison to Europe, says Robert Henning, president of the Canadian Wind Energy Association. "Spain's Henning points out, "Installed an average of 35 MW a week last year." Germany already has 16,500 MW of wind capacity, representing 10 per cent of its electricity production. That, says Henning, is largely because Germany initially guarantees producers an attractive price, while ensuring access to the power grid. "Where to get new energy is a hot button

ONTARIO is closing down five coal-powered stations. That has raised the spectre of more nuclear power plants.

topic in Ontario. In an interview, Energy Minister Dwight Duncan repeated his government's intention to phase out coal, despite some very public misgivings by Jim Carr, head of the Ontario Power Authority, that the province might be able to continue burning coal with new technology. (The U.S., underscored in Kyoto, has plans to build 24 coal-fired power plants by 2006.) A 1,200-MW installation just west of Toronto is the first plant scheduled to close. That will take place in April; the others will be gone by 2009, Duncan promises, although exact shutdown dates haven't been set.

Ontario's 7,500-MW shortfall from the closings is the perfect opportunity to promote in Canada reactors. "There just aren't any other options for large-scale production of electricity—or replacement of coal-burning, polluting electricity—other than nuclear power," says David Longworth, chief technology officer at AECL. "It's the only technology that makes sense for electricity and will reduce greenhouse-gas emissions."

But Duncan isn't ready to commit to new nuclear plants just yet, although Ontario already gets more than 40 per cent of its electricity from fission. "We haven't taken a decision. Our focus is on closing the coal-fired plants." So it's an open question? "It's an open question at this point," says Duncan, before he checks himself. "Well, let me be careful. We haven't taken a position is what I want to say."

Murray Carter, director of the climate change program at the David Suzuki Foundation, cringes at talk of spinning some Nuclear energy, for starters, is expensive, she says, not to mention the problem of radioactive waste, there are other ways to turn down the planetary heat. "We can cope with the closure of the coal-fired generating stations, and we can do it potentially without natural gas and nuclear," says Carter. "But that means we have to adopt an aggressive conservation strategy, and maybe that with an aggressive reasonable development strategy as well."

Everyone can chip in, by conserving more—and by getting innovative. We've had success with hybrid cars. Ontario's well-regarded EnerGuide program includes sub-subsidized home energy audits, and offers grants for energy-saving upgrades. Fuel cells hold great promise, even though they've been largely stranded as the midtown Calgary has shown that it's possible to power a hybrid rail train system by wind. To be realistic, local in southern Alberta, supply the region for more than 100 tonnes, reducing carbon dioxide emissions by 26,000 tonnes each year—the rough equivalent of 75 million fewer car trips annually. And then there's directly tapping into the Earth for power, as Scemmler did. "If you're environmentally conscious," he says, "this is the perfect system." There are many Kyoto-friendly options to choose from. We just need to get behind them.

IT'S TET HOLIDAY TIME in Vietnam, and a crowded Hanoi sidewalk is in flames. A woman is burning paper clothes, fuses paper hats and boots, fake money, so that the dead too can celebrate with new goods for the lunar new year. Pedestrians detour around the bonfire, mingling with the ceaseless flow of motorbikes, cars and bicycles, all of them looking increasingly more of them swooping and swooping like fish in a sea-and-aquarium.

The visitor must keep moving as we'll-a newcoaster to Vietnam soon discovers what happens to tourists who move too slowly.

Ho Chi Minh was a pragmatic guy. Seeking to end French rule after the Second World War, the Vietnamese freedom fighters asked for support from the great land of Washington and Lincoln. But America sided with France, and Ho was forced to look elsewhere. The Marxist Hanoi got out more ideologically friendly allies, realizing that the hammer and sickle would one day fly over Saigon.

Ho Chi Minh, great leader and Marxist icon, is inseparable in modern Vietnam. His name is now attached to the former South Vietnamese capital, his way carved on display in Hanoi, his picture on posters and posters and posters everywhere. And his spirit? Well, that depends.

If Uncle Ho truly was the dedicated Marxist of propaganda legend, that officialist endeavor in the Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum ought to be opening his eyes to supply electricity to the entire nation. But if the former guerrilla who won down two great powers over three decades of

years of the Old Quarter. After climbing off shouts and disconcerting hoons from an endless procession of bicycles, I'd made the mistake of stopping to engage in conversation with a motorbike driver. When I then declined his offer of a ride, he grabbed my arm to pull me toward the bike. I ducked through an archway and bolted.

My usual plan in a new city is to wander, blend in and observe. In Hanoi, I might as well have been 50 lb. of bratwurst attempting to blend into a kennel. Each narrow street seemed a gauntlet of vendors—motorbike, shoe-lane, fish, wares, cups, bananas, books (usually *The Quiet Americans*, *The Sorrow of War* and the *Lonely Planet* Vietnamese Phrasebook)—but at home I'll bet they're reading Adam Smith and Donald Trump. Powerful repose on a public place was not possible. The Vietnamese may burn fake money for the dead, but they don't play games with the real stuff. As a strolling tourist, you are a mulling \$10 bill. You are Opportunity. You must be grabbed.

That hectic pace is mirrored in traffic patterns that must be believed. Actually, you can see a fairly good approx-



The best guess is: no one's in traffic patterns that would be seen to be believed.

A \$10 BILLION LEGS

That's what STEVE BURGESS felt like in this clinic of raw capitalism

armed struggle truly was a pragmatist, he might well be pleased by how his children have carried out. For down in street level, Vietnam is rolling clinic of raw capitalism. Red stars and party slogans do not a Communist society make—Hanoi's Hanoi or Ho Chi Minh City will show you that.

Following a couple of visits to Bangkok and Hong Kong, I thought I knew what Asian street commerce was all about. But Vietnam is a different matter entirely. Half way through my first day in Hanoi I was running like a hunted animal through the

market by sending a wisp of mist with a stick. Vietnamese drivers use a sower system, telling other vehicles their position by constant honking. The traditional use of bicycles to avoid collisions has been replaced here by horns and the flashing of headlights. This can signal a driver ahead of you, "I will shortly be climbing over your back wheel—please move aside." Or, if a driver is heading straight for you on your side of the road, it says "While I regret that pulling out into oncoming traffic is certainly a perfectly acceptable Vietnamese safety, it

might in this case be inadvisable due to my inability to let the shoulder where gasoline truck is squeaking through to my right. Thank you for your co-operation." In a perverse way, it was reassuring to come upon a genuine customary display of traffic accident phone patrol outside a Hanoi hospital. It was my first indication that the Communists had not repealed the laws of physics.

Communist does show up occasionally here, in a few large roadside monuments and in the English language *Phat Nam News*. The paper prices prices of international

wire stories, but when it comes to domestic news—well, in summary, the party is making great strides with the full support of the people. Rubber production looks good, too.

IN A NEW city, I like to wander, blend in and observe. In Hanoi, I may as well have been 50 lb. of bratwurst in a kennel.

Ho Chi Minh is a Hanoi writer who has returned after spending the past 15 years in Hanoi. She sees a different city than the one she grew up in. "A lot faster, a lot noisier now," she says. "More traffic jams. A lot of bicyclists are gone. Now, motorbikes and cars." In fact, she says, the old days are not only gone but increasingly forgotten. "Nobody remembers the past. When people go to festivals, they dress the way they imagine the traditional dress used to be, but it's not the same. It's fancy—they do their best." Not that there's anything wrong with that.

In Hanoi's view "You can't expect people to value the original traditions," she insists. "They just want change. People have more things now, more chances to go abroad, more TV channels. The development of the economy has made people more self-confident. They have seen things change so much—they think they can use everything now. Vietnam is very positive—it doesn't worry about the past. Vietnam is a country of the future."

At the Army Hotel (conveniently located beside the Ministry of Defense), a group of European hope-to-exports led of first Vietnamese feature to their own homes. Cigars from France, Holland, Ireland and Italy fill the hotel, each with one or more adopted Vietnamese children in tow. After someplace

relocated to that down a space in rifle with corruption, these four countries have been the first to sign agreements with the Vietnamese government to restrict the adoption process.

More, at least, rampant capitalism has been checked in Vietnam negotiates the terms of its ongoing reintegration with the world.

A visitor consistently hears the ghostly warning voice of David Forster. "Don't race into the war!" But in fact there seems to be almost no sensitivity to it—they won, it's over, end of story (although the South Vietnamese would gladly correct me if I asked any sweeping questions about national ownership. "Well, in the North, it's different. This is the South.")

Still, I am not trying to be glib in pointing out that what the French and Americans discovered in rare—the impossibility of conquering Vietnam—in a lesson learned as miniature by each new Western arrival. Seated next to me on a flight from Hanoi to Ho Chi Minh City, a Swiss businessman sighed as he described eight months of off-and-on activity here. "In Vietnam, anything is possible if you have money," he told me. "You could probably get away with murder if you made the right payments. But as an outsider, you can only go so far there. You will hit a wall. You cannot be part of that place."

This country's growing chafe for tourists is showing increasing numbers here that there will always be those who seek more, and for them Vietnam may be a draining experience. "I think," says Steve from Honolulu, "that this is the last time I will come here." ❧

SORRY JUST DOESN'T CUT IT

The NHL and its players sucker-punched the game that made so many rich

AT FIRST, it felt like a mercy killing. National Hockey League commissioner Gary Bettman cancelled a 1994-2005 season that had three become a last-minute collective agreement with the players' union, would have been an disastrous run of maybe 20 games. But later, after the warning factions exchanged volleys of blame, reality set in. For fans, players and owners, the rhythm of their lives was irrevocably broken. There would be no stretch drive, no trade deadline deals, no playoffs. For the first time since 1991, when the finals were cancelled due to an outbreak of influenza, no one was going to win the Stanley Cup. And so the press conference in New York, a dog and, depending on Bettman, and simply, "We are truly sorry."

He probably is. Bettman may have an icy manner, but he is not inconsiderate. Since going for Bob Goodenow, the prickly union boss, although he managed to turn his own change of an apology into another slice at the league.

But sorry doesn't cut it for the people who lost their jobs in the dispute, long-serving staff at arenas and on ice and league payoffs who now join colleagues who were in the first round of layoffs last fall. And having a miraculous 13th-hour resolution, players don't want the team owners and agencies from a well-deserved payout after the closing rounds. The players have already lost off more than \$1 billion in salaries, and since revenues are expected to drop, any deal they get now will not be as rich as the one they just turned down. The teams will lose millions in ticket sales, rights fees and sponsorships, and their failure to salvage the season makes them look like fools to their corporate partners.

The two sides sucker-punched the game that made so many rich while standing on "principles"—the owners wanted "free market," the players demanded a "fair market." For that they betrayed the fans who buy tickets and jerseys, and the kids who see the guys in skates as heroes. Some very smart hockey observer once wrote that hockey is always at its best and most important when you're 12 years old. What



For young fans, even a shortened season for the home team would have been preferable

does this "too good to be true" situation do to a 12-year-old's passion for the game? It isn't over. Goodenow and Bettman will likely become some kind of negotiators, and without more concessions these will likely run into another dead end. While they have Ivy League educations in common, they see the hockey business from opposite

ends (not nearly workaholic work—the league backed off its demand for salaries being linked to revenues, the union agreed to a salary cap).

By then, though, it was too late. Both sides had dug in. Most players thought the union had given enough by offering a 24 per cent salary rollback and agreeing to a cap—"more than any of us thought we were going to give," said Calgary winger Jarome Iginla. The owners held out for a contract all 30 teams could afford, a decision Bettman president Ken King endorsed. "It was extremely right to the end," he said. "You'll have thought after all this time we could make a deal."

Now that they can see the damage they've done, maybe the two sides will hammer out a deal that allows play to resume next fall. That would at least staunch the bleeding. And maybe the league will implement a host of new rules designed to enhance the skill and flow of the game, giving the fans who come back a more exciting on-ice product than the old one. But it still galls that they couldn't achieve those goals in time to salvage some of the season. Because for a 12-year-old fan, seeing the home team play a shortened schedule that ends up with an asterisk in the record book sure beats one that warms no more than a blank line. □

THE two sides stood on 'principles.' For that they betrayed their fans and the kids who still see the guys in skates as heroes

people perspectives. So it's no surprise that Bettman failed to negotiate to the union why players had to pay for owners' overpaying. Or that Goodenow failed to inform the government of the league's finances. It's time to hand over control of the negotiations entirely to their more congenial lieutenants, Ted Sinden for the players' association and Bill Daly for the league. They handled most of the talks and dished the compromise

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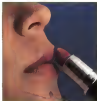
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The Life In Balance Expo will help women enhance and achieve the balance they need in their lives. No matter what their age, whether working inside or outside the home, women are constantly seeking ways to live healthy lives that are in physical and mental equilibrium. The four lifestyle issues women identify as crucial to their well-being — health, beauty, fitness and nutrition — are the cornerstones of the Life In Balance Expo presented by Shoppers Drug Mart at the Metro Toronto Convention Centre.

Internationally renowned marquee speakers — including Erin Brockovich, Lily Tomlin, Richard Simmons and Debbie Travis — and a show floor filled with a tremendous array of products and information from more than 200 exhibitors highlight this energizing experience. Workshops, seminars, interactive events, contests with fabulous prizes and opportunities to see, hear, touch, taste and participate in every aspect of healthy living set this experience apart from any other.

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Erin Brockovich

Take It From Me: Life's A Struggle But You Can Win

Erin Brockovich was a file clerk in a law office when she came across medical records that piqued her curiosity — and changed her life. She proved that a chemical leak was causing the illnesses plaguing residents in and around Hinkley, California. The lawsuit that followed resulted in the largest settlement in U.S. history — \$333 million — and a hit movie, *Erin Brockovich*. Now director of environmental research at the same law firm, Brockovich has received numerous honours for her work.



Debbie Travis

Colour And Your Mood

Gentle award-winner Debbie Travis is host, co-creator and creative producer of Debbie Travis' *Facelift*, the popular HGTV series in which she overhauls the rooms of unsuspecting, absent homeowners. Travis's first series, *The Painted House*, has aired in more than 80 countries and her books and videos are bestsellers. Travis's syndicated column is featured in newspapers across North America and she has shared designers' secrets on TV's *The Oprah Winfrey Show* and *Live With Regis And Kelly*.



Richard Simmons

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Dr. Ron Cadensky, a reproductive gynecologist, is a founding partner and the director of the LifeQuest Centre for Reproductive Medicine. Certified in abdominal laser surgery and abdominal/pelvic ultrasound, Cadensky has assisted many patients with infertility problems. He is also an adviser to the committee that sets Canadian lab standards.



Dr. Elsie Dembe is an authority on stress, resiliency, longevity and motivation. She has an extraordinary ability to inspire her audience to live and work with purpose, passion and productivity. A sought-after public speaker, best-selling author and celebrated chiropractor, Dembe helps people work out their kinks — physically and mentally.



Sam Grazioplene is North America's leading authority on nutritional superfoods and an expert on acid-alkaline chemistry and its connection to optimal health. Grazioplene created and introduced green+ to the Canadian market in 1993 — and spawned the development of "green superfood" products. The author of two books, he writes on nutrition and health.



Dr. Carl A. Laskin is an expert in reproductive immunology and autoimmune diseases in pregnancy. He's the director of Canada's largest program devoted to the study and treatment of recurrent miscarriage. Laskin is a founding partner of the Toronto infertility clinic LifeQuest Centre for Reproductive Medicine.



June Rogers is the editor of *A Focused*, indeed, a health newsletter for women in magazine and media. The former health editor of *Chatelaine* magazine, she has been published in *Chatelaine*, *Homemakers*, *The Globe And Mail* and *The Medical Post*. She has also appeared on a variety of national TV and radio shows.



Robert Tomlinson is an endocrinologist, holistic allergist and lecturer. Leading the research into allergy prevention and BioEnergetic Intolerance Elimination, Tomlinson has studied European, Australian and North American endocrinology, herbology, acupuncture, traditional Chinese medicine and holistic nutrition.

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High-carbohydrate meal 2 hours after lunch: 15 mmol/L

Low-carb meal 2 hours after lunch: 7.7 mmol/L



1 No matter how much sleep Frank got at night, he still needed a nap when he got home from work at 6 p.m.

2 After talking to his healthcare professional, Frank began testing more often to see if his blood sugar level was related to feeling tired. His logbook showed high results 2 hours after lunch, and slightly high results before dinner.

3 After realizing his lunch was large, he first reduced the carbohydrate content of lunch. And instead of eating lunch at his desk, he walked to the park to eat and walked around for 20 minutes after eating.*

4 He felt the benefits: he was more alert in the afternoon and night through the evening. His test result before dinner was also in range.

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* Exercise may not be the right thing for everyone in this situation. Consult your healthcare professional.

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Dr. Paul Cohen is a dermatologist who has his own practice in Toronto and is a clinical associate at Sunnybrook & Women's College Health Sciences Centre. He provides procedures including Botox, injectable fillers and chemical peels. He is a frequent guest lecturer and regularly appears on *Canada AM* and *Balance... Television For Living Well*.



Dr. Dana Cohen has been practicing dentistry for 27 years and loves her work "with a passion." She works with digital radiography, which has up to 90 per cent less radiation, lasers and leading-edge technology that can often be less invasive. She has a keen interest in complementary dentistry and also specializes in cosmetic makeover smiles.



Dr. Steve Gore is an anesthesiologist and lawyer who trained in cosmetic surgery and founded the Center for Hair Transplantation in Toronto in 1984. He was medical director of the centre until 2002 and now is director of Lipidox™ Medical Stimling Clinics. He has written a book on hair replacement surgery and is writing a new book about fat reduction.

EXTREME



Cynthia Lancelotti was born with a severe hearing loss that she compensated for by becoming a master lip reader. Recently, her sight deteriorated, further impairing her ability to communicate. Her *Extreme Makeover* included a face lift, brow and eyelid lift, nose job, breast augmentation, tummy tuck, laser eye surgery, dental work and teeth whitening. And she became the first person in the United States to receive Widex Digi hearing aids, breakthrough digital hearing devices.



Kimberly Rodriguez was an *Extreme Makeover* when she attended an open call in New York City. Her makeover included a nose job, lower eyelid lift, upper lip reduction, breast augmentation, removal of a rare third nipple, liposuction, eye surgery, brow hair removal and in her mouth, teeth extractions, lip and gum repositioning, crowns, bridges, partial dentures and porcelain veneers.



LIFEfest

A LIFE IN BALANCE EXPO

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

April 15, 16 and 17, 2005

11 a.m.
Still Pining Instructor Moira Matthews leads an interactive pilates demonstration

12 noon
The Hidden Meaning Of Food by Chef Michael Smith, host of Food Network Canada's Chef At Home

12 noon
Finding Love, Life And Happiness by clinical hypnotherapist Linda Gabriel Presented by The Inner Power Series

1 p.m.
Menopause: The Life Affirming Transition by Jane Rogers, editor of *A Fined Indeed*

1 p.m.
The Hidden Meaning Of Food by Chef Michael Smith, host of Food Network Canada's Chef At Home

2 p.m.
Getting REAL About Weight Loss by motivational speaker Charles Ciccarelli

2 p.m.
Feng Shui: Cutting Through The Mysteries by Canada's leading Feng Shui experts Katherine and Russ Leader

2 p.m.
Conquer Your Cellulite: The Non-Surgical Alternative To Liposuction by cosmetic surgeon Dr. Sam Goss

3 p.m.
Follow the remarkable journey of Runbelly Rodrigues as her life is changed forever thanks to the hit TV series *Extreme Makeover*. Question and answer period follows.

4 p.m.
Alongside? Have Them Gleaned In Misuse — *Perseus* by holistic, alchemist and medical Robert Tomlinson

5 p.m.
Conception And Misconceptions: All You Need To Know About Your Fertility by reproductive gynecologist Dr. Ken Gotsky

5 p.m.
Bodybuilding For Pilates by certified bodybuilder and Pilates instructor Norma Question-and-answer period follows

5 p.m.
Pets And Owners: A Serious Emotional Relationship by veterinarian Dr. Larry Wilder

5 p.m.
Making A World Of Difference by life coaches Bev Baker-Holmes and Laurel Nepe

7 p.m.
An Evening Of Classic Lily Tangle by one of North America's foremost comedienne. Question-and-answer period follows



Lily Tomlin

11 a.m.
Passionate Longevity by author, life coach and chiropractor Dr. Elaine Denbe

11 a.m.
Sold To The Core by sports physiotherapist and personal trainer Jacques P. Taylor

11 a.m.
Making A World Of Difference by life coaches Bev Baker-Holmes and Laurel Nepe

12 noon
Colour And Your Mood by Debbie Travis, host of HGTV's *Debbie Travis' Facelift*. Question and answer period follows

12 noon
Total Body Toning: A New Approach To Staying Fit by Canadian hurdler and Olympic champion Mark McKay

12 noon
Beautiful Skin Without The Surgery by dermatologist Dr. Paul Cohen

1 p.m.
Still Pining Instructor Beth Evans leads an interactive pilates demonstration

1 p.m.
Waking Up — What The Eyes Reveal by astrologer and holistic therapist Robert Tomlinson

1 p.m.
How To Seduce Your Man by sex therapist Rebecca Rosenblatt Presented by The Inner Power Series

2 p.m.
Bodybuilding For Pilates by renowned bodybuilder and Pilates instructor Norma Question and answer period follows

2 p.m.
Spa Detoxify And Simple Smile Solutions by dental specialist Dr. Dana Cohen

2 p.m.
Identity Theft: How You Can Prevent It by security consultant Lloyd Vaughn Presented by The Inner Power Series

2 p.m.
Conquer Your Cellulite: The Non-Surgical Alternative To Liposuction by cosmetic surgeon Dr. Sam Goss

3 p.m.
CHPT's Sheila Walsh hosts a live taping of *Whispered Words*, featuring Norma Jolani. The *Magnificent* editor Ken Pittman and Linda Lewis, editor-in-chief of *Today's Parent*

3 p.m.
Boundless Energy, Brilliant Mind — The Food Connection by personal trainer Sam Goss

3 p.m.
Stress Management Skills In The Workplace by psychotherapist and human resources practitioner Gladys Zink

4 p.m.
Weight Loss Made Easy: Discover The Foods That Work Against You by nutritionist Barbie Casselman

4 p.m.
Finding Love, Life And Happiness by clinical hypnotherapist Linda Gabriel Presented by The Inner Power Series

4 p.m.
Feng Shui: Cutting Through The Mysteries by Canada's leading Feng Shui experts Katherine and Russ Leader

4 p.m.
Menopause: The Life Affirming Transition by Jane Rogers, editor of *A Fined Indeed*

5 p.m.
Using Credit And Credit Cards Wisely by leading business journalist Debbie McManis Presented by CIBC VISA

5 p.m.
Identity Theft: How You Can Prevent It by security consultant Lloyd Vaughn Presented by The Inner Power Series

5 p.m.
Not All Cells Are Created Equally by nutritional biochemist Norma

7 p.m.
Take It From Me: Life's A Struggle But You Can Win by world renowned environmentalist of Erin Brockovich. Question-and-answer period follows



Erin Brockovich



Debbie Travis

11 a.m.
Follow the remarkable journey of Cyndee Luncford as her life is changed forever thanks to the hit TV series *Extreme Makeover*. Question-and-answer period follows

11 a.m.
Still Pining Instructor Moira Matthews leads an interactive pilates demonstration

11 a.m.
Using Credit And Credit Cards Wisely by leading business journalist Debbie McManis Presented by CIBC VISA

12 noon
How To Seduce Your Man by sex therapist Rebecca Rosenblatt Presented by The Inner Power Series

12 noon
Conception And Misconceptions: All You Need To Know About Your Fertility by reproductive gynecologist Dr. Ken Gotsky

12 noon
Cholesterol: What's With Richard Simmons

12 noon
Total Body Toning: A New Approach To Staying Fit by Canadian hurdler and Olympic champion Mark McKay

1 p.m.
Reconstruct Misconceptions: New Solutions To A Waning Problem by reproductive immunologist Dr. Carl A. Laskin

1 p.m.
Boundless Energy, Brilliant Mind — The Food Connection by personal trainer Sam Goss

1 p.m.
Spa Detoxify And Simple Smile Solutions by dental specialist Dr. Dana Cohen

1 p.m.
Pets And Owners: A Serious Emotional Relationship by veterinarian Dr. Larry Wilder

2 p.m.
Beautiful Skin Without The Surgery by dermatologist Dr. Paul Cohen

2 p.m.
Not All Cells Are Created Equally by nutritional biochemist Norma

2 p.m.
Rebuilding Love by psychiatrist Dr. A.S. Lathia Presented by The Inner Power Series

3 p.m.
Jenetics For A Few Thousand Close Friends with fitness guru Richard Simmons. Question-and-answer period follows



Richard Simmons

NESS

"Motivation is what gets you started. Habit is what keeps you going," and LIFEfest will deliver the keys to both — a one-stop, interactive experience to get you started on fitness and keep you at it. You will learn about and sample pilates, yoga, aerobics, tai chi, meditation, strength training, walking, running and personal coaching. Along with demonstrations of the latest equipment, LIFEfest will introduce you personally to leading authorities who will inspire you to get motivated and help you develop the fitness habits of a lifetime.



Beth Evans, program director for Stott Pilates, has been instrumental in developing and overseeing the Stott Pilates training and certification programs and accompanying educational materials. Once a professional modern dancer, Evans is a sought-after international presenter and co-author of numerous Stott Pilates manuals.



Mark McKay is Canada's greatest ever hurdler. A Canadian, Commonwealth Games and Olympic champion, he is a leading motivator and educator in health and fitness methodologies. McKay is co-founder and chief programs officer of Transfit, a Toronto-based company dedicated to transforming the way people think about and practice health and fitness.



Maura Merrithew is executive director, education, for Stott Pilates, which provides pilates education, videos and equipment worldwide. Merrithew studied at the New York studio founded by Joseph H. Pilates. In 1988 she opened Toronto's Stott Pilates Studio, which offers a safer and more effective version of the exercise method.



Joanne F. Taylor is a sports physiotherapist, athletic therapist and personal trainer. She also practices craniosacral therapy and acupuncture. Her Toronto private practice, PHYSIOFIT, specializes in physical therapy. Once a World Cup and Olympic skier, Taylor is the physiotherapist and personal trainer for the Delano Freestyle Ski Team.



Wenna and Mirena are famous as the world's only identical twin box constructor bellydancers. They've made hundreds of stage, film and TV appearances and share the joy of the ancient art of bellydancing with their audiences in their instructional video series, *The Sessan Art Of Bellydance*. They have also completed a bellydance fitness video, *Slive Down*.



OUR SAFETY RECORD SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

2005 SUBARU
OUTBACK



2005 OUTBACK EARNS 5-STAR SAFETY RATING

National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) New Car Assessment Program (NCAAP)

Awarded highest ratings in both frontal and side-impact crash tests

The brilliantly engineered 2005 Outback was built from the ground up to offer world-class safety. It has been awarded the government's highest possible crash test rating: five stars, outscoring a long list of popular SUV's like the 2004 Volvo XC90, 2005 BMW X5, 2004 Lexus RX330 and 2005 Cadillac SRX to name just a few. And Outback's uncompromising active safety technologies featuring Subaru's symmetrical full-time All-Wheel Drive allows superb maneuverability and exceptional braking ability which helps to prevent accidents before they happen. Subaru: an established world leader in occupant safety.

SUBARU
ALL-WHEEL DRIVE

LIFEfest will identify the most important issues in the huge category of nutrition, assemble the information under one roof, and help you make intelligent decisions on issues including healthful eating, meal planning, food preparation, informed shopping, child and adult obesity, organic foods, vegetarianism, food supplements, bottled water, and a host of others. On the ever-present topic of dieting, our panel of experts will examine the most famous diets, evaluate them, and recommend what might be right for you.

NUTRITION

Advertising Supplement



Francesca Bonci is a nutritionist, herbalist and holistic therapist, who recently joined EAS Canada. A presenter at

public, corporate and medical gatherings, she writes about nutrition for magazines and appears on radio and TV. While living abroad for the last 10 years, she collected knowledge from ethnic, religious and cultural beliefs that she has integrated into her work.



Barbie Casselman is a Toronto-based nutritionist who teaches nutrition as a "lifestyle" pursuit — no fads, no gimmicks, no hype. Casselman helped Loblaw's develop and market the President's Choice "Too Good To Be True" line of foods, wrote *Good-For-You Cooking: A Healthy Eating Guide* and co-wrote *Eat Right For Life: Prostate Cancer Nutrition & You*.



Charles Cicciarella, during the past year took control of his life, dropping 150 pounds from his dangerous high of 360 pounds and its related health problems. Now he's inspiring others to improve their lives through the media and his website, www.musclemeltdown.com. He's writing a book, doing public speaking and mentoring.



Chef Michael Smith has worked in fine restaurants in England, South America, the Caribbean and North America. An award-winning cookbook author, newspaper columnist, rising Canadian cuisine ambassador, and chef, Smith is writing his third cookbook to accompany his TV series *Chef At Home*, which debuted in the fall on Food Network Canada.

NEW!

Napa Valley



*H*ello, I'm a scrumptious gourmet pizza like no other fresh from the radiant, sun-drenched vineyards of Napa Valley California.

I begin with a creamy basil pesto sauce topped with a fine mozzarella cheese. My flavor is rich with the wholesome tastes of vegetables bathed in sunlight and ripened to perfection. Fire-roasted red peppers are paired with ultra artichokes and are complemented by succulent seasoned chicken. I am then glazed with the finest blend of Italian herbs, before I'm baked to a full robust aroma. This medley of tastes melts into my stone baked crust that is both crisp and tender like a night in the Napa Valley under the Californian stars.

I'm available in small, medium and large.

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TORONTO STAR

It's where you live.

LIFEfest will focus on four key areas — health, beauty, fitness and nutrition — to help you achieve balance in your life, then examine three more everyday essentials.

Time: You will learn how to create schedules that accommodate work, family and leisure time. **Space:** You will learn how to set up or make changes to your work and home surroundings to guarantee you can find and use your "stuff" with maximum efficiency.

Money: You will learn how to demystify the process of sound financial planning and how to make sense of your money.

BALANCE



Ben Baker-Mohrman and Laurel Wopli are partners in the Alberta-based life coaching company

COACH Partners They have a passion for inspiring and encouraging others to make positive changes and live life with meaning. They have more than 20 years' experience as educators, consultants and workshop facilitators.



Linda Gabriel is the author of *The Inner Power Series—Abundance: A certified clinical*

hypnotherapist, Gabriel specializes in helping people transform their lives by changing their minds. A gifted teacher, Gabriel leads workshops throughout North America and maintains a private practice in Hollywood.



Nancy LePatourel became *Glow Magazine's* editor-in-chief last April. She was the

editor-in-chief of *Oxygen*, a health and fitness magazine for Canadian women, and contributing editor at *FLARE* magazine. A former personal trainer and fitness instructor, she has also been published in *Cooking Light*, *Elle Canada* and *Wedding Style*.



Linda Lewis is editor-in-chief of *Today's Parent*, which was named the best parenting magazine in

North America in 2003 in the National Magazine Awards. Lewis has won three personal honourable mentions in the same competition. As a freelancer, she's written for such magazines as *Saturday Night*, *Toronto Life*, *Canadian Business* and *Charlaine*.



Katherine and Russ Leader are experts at translating the complex principles of Feng Shui into a

language we can all readily apply, teaching people how to make simple life changes that dramatically improve their health, wealth and happiness. They appear on radio and TV and give lectures, seminars and creative workshops across Canada.



Dr. A.S. Luthra is head of geriatric psychiatry at Hamilton Health Sciences and Faculty of Health

Sciences at McMaster University. His specialty is the study of the reasoning behind the emotions love, lust and infatuation. Luthra brings years of experience from dealing with patients one-on-one through his private practices.



Deirdre McHardy is one of Canada's leading business journalists. The co-host of Global Television's

MoneyWise, she had been business editor for CTV's *Canada AM* for three years. McHardy also is a columnist for *The Financial Post*, writes a *Bay Street* column for *Canadian Business* and contributes to money magazines, *NSN's* financial website



Kim Pittaway became editor of *Charlaine* magazine in January. For many years a

freelance writer, she became a feature writer for *Charlaine* in 1994. She began writing her monthly column, *Bravado*, in 1999 and two years later joined the magazine full-time as managing editor. Pittaway is a champion of Canadian magazines and magazine talent.



Rebecca Rosenblatt — aka *Dr. Date* — is a

brandcent therapist, author, advice columnist, public speaker and talk show host. An acclaimed relationship and sexuality guru, she runs successful seminars for *The Learning Annex*, works with various therapists and educators conferences and trades shows, and is a regular event keynote speaker.



Lloyd Vaughan was a police officer for 26 years, specializing in criminal intelligence operations. He's a VIP

security officer and worked on the *41de RCMP* special unit combating organized crime. He lectures widely on investigative techniques and case management. He is a partner at LTD & Associates Inc., a Toronto investigative and security research consulting firm.



Sheila Walsh is host and producer of 98.1 CHFI's *Magazine Radio* lifestyle talk show. She

was host of the TV travel show *A Place In The Sun*, correspondent for the entertainment show *TV Guide Television* and as announcer on many Toronto radio stations. She appears in print and TV ads and does voice work for radio and television ads.



Dr. Larry Wilder heads Toronto's Lawrence Park Animal Hospital. A clinical instructor at the Ontario Veterinary

College in Guelph, he received a national award for outstanding skills and service in veterinary science. Wilder has appeared on radio and TV as a pet medicine expert and answers questions on the *Ask Dr. Larry* website on the *YTV Kids Network*.



Claudia Zarik is a psychotherapist and a human resources practitioner. She offers individual, couple and

family counselling and consults to corporations. Zarik's interests include anxiety, depression, career counselling, workplace issues, substance use, stress, anger, trauma, behaviour modification, life balance and personal growth.

THE ROGERS PAVILION

Get the latest on décor, fashion, health and more at the new Rogers Communications LIFEfest 2005 pavilion, which brings your favourite magazines to life. Meet the editors of Canada's top women's magazines, get expert tips, sign up for one-on-one consultations and enter to win great prizes. Come and meet the editors of Canada's best women's and parenting magazines, featuring:

LOULOU: YOUR PERSONAL SHOPPER

Shopping magazines are the hottest print trend in the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Japan. Now *LouLou* is here as Canada's first shopping magazine — a shopping bible for women across the country in English and French. *LouLou's* where to get complete buying information on the best clothes, shoes, accessories, beauty products, games and gadgets for your home.

- At LIFEfest, *LouLou's* experts turn shopping into a science and an art, showing you how to create the most easy, fun-filled shopping experience you've ever had.

FLARE

- Get The Look: 2005 Trends From Runway to Reality**
Join the fashion and beauty experts from *FLARE* Magazine daily at the Rogers Pavilion stage as they present the latest in fashion and makeup trends and show how these runway looks work in the real world. Be part of this fashionable session and be eligible to win prizes from *Flare*.
- Subscribe to *Flare* at a special rate and get instant vouchers for great discounts with the *Flare* Friends subscriber program.

TODAY'S PARENT

- Mom's And Balance**
Editor-in-chief Linda Lewis shares the tips she's gathered during 11 years of reporting on the most critical information parents need.
- Parenting For Today**
Experts offer advice on behaviour and discipline, healthy pregnancy, childhood obesity and nutrition.
- Subscribe to *Today's Parent* at a special rate and enter to win one of two family vacation packages to the Delawanna Inn Resort in Honey Harbour.

GLOW

In *Glow*, Canada's beauty and health magazine, readers will find practical advice on makeup application, skincare tips, health issues and new trend trends. *Glow* brings some of these ideas to life at LIFEfest 2005, where it is offering:

- A free Body Mass Index measurement
- Daily refills for Shoppers Drug Mart gift certificates
- Free copes of *Glow*
- Two tiers where you can subscribe to *Glow*. If you use your Optimum card to sign up for a one-year subscription, you can pay it for only 3,000 Optimum points — a saving of 60 per cent — or you can get five times the Optimum points offered on purchases at the Shoppers Drug Mart LIFEfest store.
- Up close and personal Q&As with *Glow's* health and beauty editors.

CHATELAINE

- Your Self, Your Home**
Fill your home décor ideas box with tips from *Chateaine's* design editors and get help with your interior design problems in a one-on-one consultation about your home.
- Your Health Is Your Hands**
Get inspired to take charge of your fitness and find out how to join the Chateaine Walking Club.
- Beat The Clock Beauty**
If you don't have time to fuss with your makeup, *Chateaine's* beauty editors will teach you how to make the most of looking minutes.
- Cooking From Your Cupboard**
Dinner is easy when your cupboard is stocked with the right ingredients. *Chateaine's* food editors outline the common ingredients every cook should have on hand and offer a free shopping guide.
- Subscribe to *Chateaine* at a special rate and enter to win a fitness prize package worth hundreds of dollars.

Metro Toronto Convention Centre, North Building
April 15, 16 and 17, 2005

Friday from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.
Saturday from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.
Sunday from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.

ADULT'S ONLY TICKETS \$2!

A one-day pass is \$20 (taxes included), a two-day pass is \$30. Tickets are available in advance at all Ontario Shoppers Drug Mart locations or on the days of the show at the door. Children 14 and under are admitted free when accompanied by an adult.

ACCOMMODATION

Blocks of rooms have been set aside for LIFEfest visitors at two hotels that are close to the Metro Toronto Convention Centre.

To book a room at the InterContinental Toronto Centre — it's at 225 Front Street West and directly adjoins the Metro Toronto Convention Centre — call 1-800-422-7569. Rooms are \$199 a night.

Or make a reservation at the Strathcona Hotel, which is at 40 York Street — a half mile from the convention centre — by calling 1-800-268-8304. Rooms start at \$115 a night.

For further information, visit our website at www.LIFEfest.ca



By car from the West:
Take the 401 East to 427 South. Follow the Gardiner Expressway east toward Toronto and exit at Spadina Avenue. Go north to Front Street and turn right.

By car from the East:
Take the 401 West to the Don Valley Parkway South. Follow the Gardiner Expressway west to Spadina Avenue. Go south to Front Street and turn right.

By public transit:
Streetscar, buses, subways and GO trains connect all parts of Toronto and outlying areas to Union Station, the city's transportation hub. Union Station is accessible from the Metro Toronto

Convention Centre via the Skyway, a weather protected walkway. For more information, visit the GO Transit or Toronto Transit Commission websites at www.gttransit.com or www.ttc.ca.

Convention Centre's Parking Entrance:
Entrance is the North Building parking garage is on the west side of Simcoe Street, just south of Front Street West.

Following the directions provided, exit the Gardiner Expressway at Spadina Avenue, go north to Front Street and turn right. When you reach Simcoe Street, turn right again. You will see the North Building parking garage on your right.

TICKET INFO

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ROGERS
Official Rogers Media Company

LIFEfest
A LIFE IN BALANCE EXPO

presented by
SHOPPERS
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THE STORY OF KIELY & CARLY

The CEO of Molson-Coors has much in common with HP's former boss

A Return to Balance

with
SHOPPERS DRUG MART



Following the overwhelming success of last year's inaugural *LIFEfest: A Life in Balance Expo*, Shoppers Drug Mart is proud to return as presenting sponsor of the 2005 expo, an even bigger and better show with more motivating guest speakers and more exhibitor booths. Participants will enjoy the interactive nature of sessions on topics associated with health, beauty, fitness and nutrition — all contributors to a healthy and balanced lifestyle.

Shoppers Drug Mart will again play a significant role in bringing these key issues to life at our show booths. Our HealthWATCH™ pharmacists will present numerous seminars on health topics that matter to you. Our Q&A beauty experts will be on hand to teach you their tips of the trade and give you a fabulous spring makeover.

This year, we're especially excited to present the Shoppers Drug Mart *LIFEfest* store. You'll see and sample many exciting new products while you're walking through the show and you'll be able to find all of them for sale at one convenient location.

Leading a balanced lifestyle is a goal to which we all aspire. Shoppers Drug Mart is pleased to present the return of *LIFEfest*, where you will find the tools and information you need to achieve the balance you want. Join us on April 15, 16 and 17, 2005, for another inspiring three days.

LIFEfest
A LIFE IN BALANCE EXPO

POWERED BY
SHOPPERS DRUG MART

ON THE VERY DAY Leo Kiely was preparing his first public presentation, as head of newly merged Molson-Coors Brewing Co., the world learned that Carly Fiorina had been fired from her job as chief executive of Hewlett-Packard Co. Chances are Kiely paid little attention to the ouster of his fellow CEO that day. He had his own problems to worry about. But by the time his first all-star conference call with analysts and investors was over, it was hard to miss the parallels between his situation and that of HP's former chief. The challenges that Fiorina faced are the same ones Kiely faces now. And he's off to a pretty bad start.

It's not all his fault, mind you. Kiely was dealt a bad opening hand. Fresh off a divorce and rusty merger campaign, the new boss was immediately forced to deliver a raft of bad news. In the last three months of 2004, Molson's profits dropped by 59 percent from a year earlier. Its market share in Canada had declined from 45 per cent in 2003 to just under 42 percent, and the company's 11-million operations continue to bleed. Volume of sales there fell another 11 per cent in the quarter, taking Molson's market share down to 3.7 per cent, from 17 per cent when it bought the business three years ago.

You can't paint a happy face on results like that, and Kiely didn't try. His investors who expected him to deliver a program plan of action came away disappointed. Shareholders and regulators were all his usual critics.

Someone asked about Kiely, and got a string of a reply. "We've got to get it down to brass tacks. We've got to see the real business," Kiely said. "We've got to do a real good scrub of the business, from a cash-flow and strategic point of view."

Another analyst, alarmed at Molson's fading fortunes in Canada, asked how the slide could be turned. "I can't give you much more insight on this today," Kiely admitted. "We've got a management team on the ground in Toronto that is looking those issues straight in the face. They've got a good grasp of what the issues are and a good grasp of what they need to do, both short and medium term. My sense, with due pause, is that they've got good talent in hand. They're being aggressive with these tactics and we'll have a heck of a lot more about

it over the next several months."

That's 89 words to make the following point: I have no idea what we're going to do, but I know we have to do something.

It was right about then that echoes of Fiorina and Hewlett-Packard started to flood back. HP's ex-CEO was never at a loss for words, even when she was at a loss for answers. She asked her corner on a merger with Compaq Computer in 1992. She said the Compaq takeover was absolutely vital. HP was to compete against the likes of Dell Computer and IBM. The deal was bitterly opposed by many major shareholders, among them one member of a founding family, Walter Hewlett, who insisted it would only make HP a bigger company, not a better one. Fiorina won the day by

defuse of their biggest brands. Kiely and his Canadian counterpart, Dan O'Neill, prevailed by procuring US\$175 million in cost cuts and efficiency improvements.

Now it's fully Kiely's turn. The man who led Molson's disastrous expansion into South America, to deliver those essential cost savings. But the newly named vice chairman of synergies and synergies was nowhere to be found at that critical conference call. A Molson spokesman later explained that since Kiely's now in charge, these were no need for O'Neill, he part of the presentation. As a result, questions about the problems in Canada and Brazil, and questions about the cost cuts, were unanswered. Kiely floundered, and the stock fell three per cent on its first day of trading.

The company's lack of clear direction has only bolstered the case of the critics, who have increased all along that the merger of Molson and Coors amounts to a giant leap of faith. The deal wasn't part of any grand strategy. The merger was the marriage, and there was, anyone, few firm ideas on what to do next.

Kiely promised to present a more detailed game plan by May, which gives him three months to figure out how to restructure Molson-Coors' breweries, fix Brazil, restore Molson's brands, and accelerate growth at Coors. But more than that, he must find proof that Molson-Coors is more than the sum of its parts, because it was that explicit promise that fired off the bomb of the document to merge.

Fiorina never found that proof at HP. The profit margins she promoted never materialized and the stock went nowhere. She paid for her failure with the loss of her job and a severe blow to her reputation. For Kiely to write a different ending for himself, he'll have to hope his steady state and Fiorina's simultaneous fall weren't seasons of things to come.

KIELY MUST prove that the new company is more than the sum of its parts, because that promise formed the basis of the merger. HP's Fiorina failed that test.

promising cost savings and massive boosts to profit margins.

Anyone who followed the Molson-Coors merger drama heard much the same message: the union was first proposed, the assets, executives in the breweries had been telling investors they needed to get bigger to compete with giants like SABMiller and Anheuser-Busch. Large shareholders and a founding family member—former deputy chairman Ian Molson—laughed the deal, arguing that combining Molson and Coors would do nothing to solve the deeper problems affecting both companies, namely the

By Steve Marsh's writing, "All Business," at www.macleans.ca/allbusiness



COLLISION MITIGATION

If you approach another vehicle too quickly, your car beeps, displays dashboard messages, tightens your seat belt, maybe even closes the windows. Honda's technology, employing a camera and radar, also tracks other cars' movements, and if it senses an imminent crash, it automatically applies the brakes to reduce the severity of impact. **Who has it:** 2008 Acura ILX.



BLIND-SPOT DETECTION

Trigger the turn signal and, if there's a vehicle alongside you that's out of sight, the system sounds an alert or lights a warning on the dash. **MINI has it:** several 2008 MINI models, including the hot sedan and V10 wagon.

LANE DEPARTURE WARNING

A possible precursor for those driving while drowsy, a camera mounted behind the rear-view mirror tracks road markings. If the car drifts over the white line, an internal computer triggers a series of high-pitched beeps or makes the driver's seat vibrate. **Who has it:** several 2008 Infiniti models; Mercury's 2008 concept car Merlot One (right).



HIGH-TECH HEADLIGHTS

Audi's new xenon lights illuminate around corners when the car exceeds speeds of 55 mph. GM, meanwhile, has developed headlights that brighten or dim based on oncoming traffic levels. Lexus has taken advantage of Night View, a technology similar to infrared that illuminates everything up to 150 m ahead of you and then projects the image onto the windshield. **Who has it:** 2008 Audi A8 Cabriolet, 2008 Cadillac STX, some Lexus models, including LX 470.



STABILITY CONTROL

This feature helps prevent rollovers and reduces the risk of fatal single-vehicle accidents by more than half, according to two recent U.S. studies. Sensors monitor brake pressure, tire and steering-wheel motion, and other vehicle operations. If any register as abnormal, suggesting you're losing control of the car, the system automatically applies the brakes to help you right the vehicle. **Who has it:** standard on Toyota Altima (above), Ford Explorer, Jaguar and all GM models by 2006.



MORE AIRBAGS

Many companies are packing their cars with airbags—especially side airbags, which deploy from the door sill, to cushion collision blows to the head and neck. GM has a new system that adjusts the size of the bag and the precompressed air to the size of the occupant, the seat's location and whether the passenger is wearing a seat belt. **Who has it:** 2006 Buick Lucerne (above) and Cadillac DTS.

SAFE CAN BE SEXY

AT THE RECENT ROUND OF CAR SHOWS in Canada and the U.S., one thing jumped out: safe is sexy these days. As crash test and safety ratings become increasingly vital competitive tools, automakers are equipping their models with sensors and side air bags (see how we've met to buy a Porsche Boxster) to keep drivers protected and minimize expensive fender-benders. The particular push these days is on preventing accidents rather than just reducing injuries. Here is the latest tech, available now or coming soon, and some of the vehicles that sport it.

DANIEL FRANCIS'S HOUR of greatness comes back to him in flashes—none of them especially pleasant. He's crawling down the hallway of a burning mobile home, holding his breath, as a desperate mother cries for help outside. "There was a kind of chemical smoke, and it was pretty thick," he says. "You couldn't see much." He remembers reaching out, and finding the elbow of a half-conscious 11-year-old girl who was crouched in the hallway. Tugging her backward, Francis worked his way to the trailer's rear door,

pushing the girl to safety before scurrying out himself. Moments later, flames engulfed the house.

The night Francis saved Jocelyn Saunders in Millbrook, N.Y., is one for the books: bravery and athleticism in the face of obvious danger. There is then this 23-year-old's knee-length con/jac'd breakdown in a couple of weeks earlier while play-erecting with a girl, and you have something far beyond good citizenship. Francis was recently presented with a Governor General's Medal of Bravery, Canada's standard decoration for heroes. He's both a blow his own horn, but it seems a pity the whole country wasn't able to attend his ceremony. We could use a refresher on what heroism really is.

Anyone who watches sports has news: canoes know who it is. This word, once the preserve of the brave or visionary, has somehow become a default term for anyone from clearly caused accident victims to public employees who are, well, doing their jobs. One U.S. college newspaper I read recently declared that astronaut's groundkeepers "heroes" for keeping the spaceship free of hair; blood donors in Canada are "everyday heroes" for performing what is really a

launched a series of poems involving the "heroic" deeds of its employees, with the laudable goal of engaging a cynical public. The acts, however, turned out to be little more than gestures of creature decency—the kind we should be ashamed not to do. One driver (pimp) stopped her steering after seeing a young girl wander into traffic, and picked the child up. Another halted a subway train and had the power rail dis-

LOGIC suggests that if everyone's a hero, then no one's a hero, and our appreciation of the genuine article suffers for it.

connected after spotting a boy on the tracks (instead of, one supposes, running the child down, or watching him electrocute himself). The poems' attempt at irony only added to the satirical effect: "It's a bird! It's a plane!" one proclaimed. "It's... Deborah and David!"

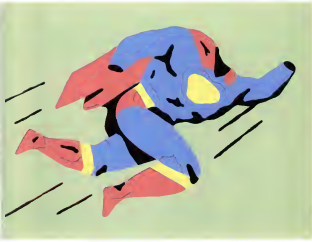
So how did this happen? Since when did the less we can do better grounds for

happens prove in a terrorist war, even if circumstances suggest the latter.

But in George Orwell teaches, misuse of a word breeds doubt about it, and that point struck home for me last fall as I watched television coverage of the death of Liana Chris Saunders, the submarine hero who succumbed to injuries suffered aboard HMCS Chacaran. A newspaper reports depicted Saunders as a hero who died in the service of his country.

But it was hard to accept that application of the label a face value. Crew members' accounts would later suggest Saunders indeed saved himself, fighting an electrical fire, ahead of the 11-band vessel after suffering severe smoke inhalation. Yet that wasn't widely known at the time, and confounding Saunders' death with battlefield casualty played squarely into the hands of the current federal government's ends. The Liberals were about to come under heavy criticism for postponing the out-of-pocket purchase of Chacaran and three other British-made subs, which have been plagued with problems since their delivery. Declaring Saunders a hero underscored the inherent risk of military service, rather than the specific risk of serving aboard leaky, dysfunctional vessels.

Moribund, but just as worrisome, is the willingness of intellectuals to play along—even play a part—in corrupting the hero ideal further. In a 1999 essay prepared for the Dominion Institute, writer and historian Charlotte Gray called on Canadians to "re-



LET'S REDEFINE 'HERO'

Once the preserve of the brave or visionary, it's now used far too liberally

define all 1,249 innocent victims who died in the World Trade Center towers or in hijacked planes were repeatedly described as heroes following the 9/11 attacks—something I can't imagine not well with the function of firefighters trapped in the collapsing buildings. If everyone's a hero, logic suggests, then no one's a hero, and our appreciation of the genuine article suffers for it.

The hyperbole can produce absurd results. Last year, Toronto's main authority

vision's most sacred statue? Unfulfilled need is one explanation for occasions any longer warrant the kind of bravery shown by Francis—not in our buttoned-down, scrubbed, gold-star awarded age. If we're throwing the label around a little, maybe it's because we must meet heroes in our midst, which is hardly a selfish urge. Grief can play a role, too, in cases where the subject has been hurt or killed. It's a lot more comforting to think of breathing victims as heroes than

define" heroism according to national values, emphasizing such qualities as collective strength, quiet competence, respect for the land, humor, creative brilliance and something she calls "self-invention." Who, if anyone, that would exclude remains unclear (Lift St. Cpl., the famous Montreal stripper of the '40s and '50s, comes among Gray's self-inventors). But Gray does declare old-fashioned bravery paid. "The only current manifestation," she says, "is in the

nerve-of-steel takeover duels between the contemporary titans of cogitation."

As an unapologetic revisionist, I grant this with both, and the few pulls I've seen suggest that the rest of the country feels the same way. One taken in 1999 asked Canadians what makes them associate more with heroism. Answers varied, but few cry/courage topped the list, with a 36 per cent rating, while honesty, humor and selflessness followed close behind. This suggests a

get-level affinity for traditional notions of heroism, and gives rise to the unoriginal idea that Canadians are bent on reducing the hero to the banal.

So why are some insisting the bar? If we know what makes a hero, why not protect the word from misuse, and reserve the honour for its rightful owners? If there's a and note to Daniel Francis's story, after all, it's that he seems unafraid when the designation is applied to him—as if heroism is

something we all possess, and need not take pride in. "It was just a matter of looking at the spine of the moment," he remarks when asked about his actions. "It was something anybody would have done."

Not true, by a long shot—though the world would be a better place if it were. Heroes, unfortunately, don't grow on trees, and nothing we say can change that.

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THE REINVENTION OF CHINA

An artist catches reverberations of the Asian country's urban boom

EDWARD BURTYNSKY is an epic artist, renowned for his pictures of large-scale human interventions in the landscape. The Toronto-based photographer's current work explores the industrial revolutions taking place in China. Burtynsky has made regular trips to the country during the past three years, documenting elements of its massive urban boom. He plans to release a book of these photos next fall. "Shooting in China is not easy," says Burtynsky, who relies on a Mandarin-speaking fixer to gain access to locations. "An independent photographer is not really an understood occupation over there. I show people my book, and they go,

"Well, that's all very nice, but I can't read English, and so I don't know if these pictures tell a good or a bad story."

The irony is that Burtynsky's work so rewarding. Each photo is a sort of Rorschach test—do you see something amazing and beautiful, or something troubling? His images of productive factory workers would be welcome in both a corporate CEO's on-call room and an anti-globalization placard.

Burtynsky insists he's not trying to define what's right or wrong. As the successful owner of Toronto's Image Works photo lab, he knows how tough it is to run a viable

enterprise. "When I see people building businesses in China, I don't feel resentful toward them," he says. "I realize how hard they have to work, how hard it is for anybody to succeed at anything." Why China is important, he points out, is that it represents rapid change on a scale the world has never experienced. "I'm concerned, now, being a father with children, that the trajectory seems to be problematic." JEFF HARRIS

Domestic Migrant Workers, Guangzhou City, Guangdong Province (above), New Factory Construction, Dongguan, Guangdong Province (opposite), both from 2004; anonymity





Clockwise from top left:
Grant Quarry, Shantou City, Guangdong Province; Ning Qia Ting Shoe Factory, Beicun, Zhejiang Province; Granite Quarries #2, Xiamen, Fujian Province; Textile Mill, Kaohsiung, Zhejiang Province, all from 2004

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BRIAN O. JOHNSON
Senior Writer, *Maclean's*
As *Maclean's* film critic, Brian O. Johnson provides readers with insightful reviews and features, bringing an especially fine focus to the landscape of Canadian cinema.

GUESTS



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Filmmaker
Atom Egoyan's films include *Calendar*, *Exotica*, *The Sweet Hereafter* and *Ararat*. He has won numerous prizes at international film festivals, including the Grand Prix and International Critics Awards from the Cannes Film Festival, and has also received two Academy Award® nominations.



PAUL GROSS
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CANADA'S GANGRENE

Poverty, warns John Ralston Saul, threatens the very basis of our democracy

Initiated by His Excellency John Ralston Saul, the annual LaFontaine-Ralston lecture series on democracy this year will focus on the struggle to move from classic human rights to a broader definition of social rights. Louise Arbour, the former Supreme Court of Canada justice, now the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, will deliver the speech named after the two pre-Confederation leaders who set the framework for responsible government. In advance of her March 4 remarks in Quebec City and the accompanying symposium organized by the Dominion Institute, Saul argues that poverty in Canada threatens the social equality upon which our freedoms are based.

IT IS STRANGE how stingy we are when it comes to human rights. We have managed to codify a few and so are pretty pleased with ourselves. Yet were it not for charitable activity, many citizens today would starve or freeze. Why then can't we pull ourselves into a mindset which sees human well-being, dignity, life itself, as a right? A citizen's right.

What did the founders of Canadian democracy think? There was a small and very poor society. Nevertheless, in 1840, when Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine created

the anglophone francophone alliance for democracy, he centred his argument on a simple premise: It would only work if built upon "the social equality which shapes the distinctive characteristics of our Upper Canada as of Lower Canada." His Address to the Citizens of Toronto—the public letter with which he launched the Canadian democratic movement—was filled with specific references to the idea of justice through equality, whether in the courts or the schools or the workplace.

Over the past few years, I have been in hundreds of communities and seen how many of us have somehow been excluded from our middle-class idea of social equality. I could take you from the Arctic to the South, from city to city, town to town, shelter to food bank to drop-in centre to hospice. Everywhere you would find Canadians excluded from their own society by their poverty. And everywhere there are Canadians working to help charitable structures fill in for our societal failure. Not one of them would disagree with Willy Brandt's exclamation before the UN in 1973: "Hunger, yes, a war?"

The vast majority of the people on our streets, sitting out of our food banks, do not want to be there. In the Mattard Seed in Calgary, you would find homeless people who have jobs which pay no little they must sleep in the shelter. In the Andrew's Street Family Centre in Winnipeg, you would find

families whose needs are so basic that they are dependent on the charity phone in order to be able to enter into the bureaucratic logic of public services. These are also the realities in The Maroon in Ottawa or The Turning Point in Halifax. And in shelter after shelter you will find mothers who must bring in their children for food. This is a society which complains about taxes, but eagerly rushes to enjoy its citizens' welfare and fill government coffers through state-sponsored gambling. Why? To replace taxes not lost at the other end of the spectrum.

My sense is that the vast majority of the excluded could successfully find their way toward the assistance through some form of low cost or assisted housing. Many have mental-health problems. They are on the street because we eliminated their hospital beds without developing an alternative. A bit of human support in open spaces, for example, would change their lives. And even. After all, these people want to contribute to society. It is their right and their duty as citizens.

What would the cost be of helping these people get off the street? More to the point, what is the cost—ethical and financial—of leaving them out there?

Some people believe that these citizens have been excluded because they have made insufficient personal effort. The opposite is more likely to be true. In many cases, they may find it harder than most middle-class Canadians. They have to struggle with accumulation of problems that most of us could not even imagine. Remember that very human Black experience: "The world is sharp as a knife. If you don't watch out, you'll fall right off."

Thousands of us fall off all the time. How far should you have to fall in society which distrusts it is devoted to human rights? Just watch again, Nelson Mandela issued this plea to leaders and citizens: "Massive poverty and obscene inequality are such terrible scourges of our times that they have to mark alongside slavery and apartheid in social evils. And overcoming poverty is not a gesture of charity. It is an act of justice."

Mandela was referring to the massive poverty of Africa. But we have our slice of this scourge. It is as real as your life. It just happens to be the life of another. And in a society as successful as ours, the existence of such want can only mean a personal failure by those of us who have not fallen off.

Those who are excluded are not those who have failed. It is those of us who could, but do not treat the needs of others as a right, who have sacrificed our dignity. Go to Chin Pops in Montreal and talk to the street kids. Talk to Gilles Kigle in Quebec City. Spend some time at the Carriage Library in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. This is your country. These are your fellow

citizens. Not housing, not a home. Not something to exclude. Then, and in shelter after shelter across the country, the message is clear: We talk of homelessness. We mean poverty and the lack of appropriate housing for those dealing with various disabilities.

Here and there across the country I see signs of movement—very positive signs—when compared to five years ago. These



What is the cost—ethical and financial—of leaving our citizens out on the streets?

citizens. They have something to say. We will benefit from housing.

Joseph Howe, in 1835, answered the central question about the nature of citizenship: "The only question I ask myself is: 'What is a right? What is a duty? What is for the public good?'" In 1894, shortly after leading the

struggle for the resurgence of the humanist ideals upon which Western democratic states were built. But this welcome change came at a slow and ad hoc manner, as if we have forgotten the concept of inclusion which was already intellectually and ethically fixed in place by LaFontaine, Bédard and Howe as the keystone of the Canadian idea. It is of course true that in the middle of the 19th century, struggling with the problems of our isolated and poverty-stricken colonies, they could not have seen where their broad vision could lead us a century and a half later. That is the price of a broad vision. It is not about the minutiae of the day. It is about the direction in which a nation is society. If we believe that citizenship is a blend of rights and obligations, how can we not believe that the dignity of well-being is one of the dispossessions of citizenship?

THERE are signs of the resurgence of humanist ideals, but this welcome change is slow and in an ad hoc manner

successful drive for democracy. As existed, "I would press any ministry of which I was a member to take the initiative... in every noble enterprise, to be in advance of the social, political and industrial energies which we have undertaken to lead."

I remember five years ago going, with my friend and father, to open Little's new Turning Point shelter. It was a far better place than the old, mouldy, half-heated building it replaced. And yet it was a shel-

ter, not housing, not a home. Not something to exclude. Then, and in shelter after shelter across the country, the message is clear: We talk of homelessness. We mean poverty and the lack of appropriate housing for those dealing with various disabilities.

For more information on the LaFontaine-Ralston lecture series and symposium, visit www.dominion.ca.



TAKING ON MICROSOFT

A new Web browser leads an assault by the little guys

A DECADE AGO, Netscape Navigator became the world's de facto Internet browser almost overnight. It was a phenomenal success—then it, until Microsoft Corp. started bundling its own browser, Internet Explorer, with its Windows 95 operating system (and every one since) and practically snuffed Navigator out of existence.

Well, it seems a new challenger has Microsoft going back on the attack. Mozilla Foundation's Firefox, launched in November, is gaining ground as a mobile alternative to Explorer. In the four months since, the free browser has been downloaded nearly

25 million times. In response, Microsoft announced last week it will release a major browser upgrade this summer.

So what's so great about Firefox? For one thing, it's much more secure than Explorer, which has long been criticized for its vulnerability to hackers. "Over the past several years, the security issue with IE has ballooned, and it seems like every couple of days there's another attack," says Scott Grassman, author of the forthcoming *Don't Click on the Blue*, due out in March.

Firefox's instant popularity has eased Microsoft's reliance of the browser market to shrink by about five per cent. Mozilla, com-

paring Explorer and controls about 90 per cent of the market, but symbolic nonetheless. If the software giant's dominance is as entrenched as it once was, it can be wobbled.

WHERE FIREFOX OUTSMARTS EXPLORER

• **Tabbed browsing:** lets you open multiple websites within a single window. No flip through by clicking on tabs—like using Post-it notes marking papers in a binder.

• **Cool extensions:** small programs written by Firefox enthusiasts that add features such as a weather report icon, an iTunes controller or an ad blocker.

• **Search toolbar:** access dozens of search sites, including Wikipedia and IMDB, through this integrated feature.

also, perhaps its vulnerable elsewhere, too. Indeed, Firefox is just the most high profile combat in a multi-front assault on Microsoft by the so-called "open source" movement, whose volunteer programmers work collaboratively on programs usually available for free download. OpenOffice.org, for example, offers free alternatives to the Microsoft Office suite, the Linux operating system is running over corporate servers, and Thunderbird, another product from Mozilla, is taking aim at Microsoft's Outlook.

But is Firefox a real threat to Microsoft? Gartner Inc. technology analyst Ray Valdes doesn't think so. In a recent report, he argues that as Firefox gains a following, hackers will target it just as they did Explorer. And the challenge will become greater now that Microsoft has decided to market its massive resources to steer the sale of IE browsers. "Even if Firefox has 20 million users," says Valdes, "that's still small considering there are 400 or 500 million Web users"—thus an irony of them using Explorer itself, Grassman's site corrected. Microsoft can quash the navericks. "For the first time, open source is not for Microsoft can buy out, intimidate or underprice," he says. "We're at the top of the hill with the snowball. We're going downhill, and we're gathering steam." ☐

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Hockey | Music | BY SHANDA GIBSON



CATCHING FIRE OFF THE ICE

Don't call hockey's Darren McCarty a rock wannabe

EVEN A 40-FOOT recreational vehicle feels like cramped quarters when Darren McCarthy's on board. It's noon, and the six-foot, 230-lb. Denver Red Wings winger is up, so he grabs a monitor and the baggy pillow he "borrowed" from the Palmis Hotel in Las Vegas and then collapses on whatever makeshift bed is closest. It doesn't matter that someone's already sleeping there. "It's not too good with the sharing," says drummer Eric Miller, making noise on the London tablecloth over mattress.

Six months into what would have been MacCarty's 12th NHL season, the 33-year-old is on

sour with his rock band, Grinders (named after the Wings' three-piece Stanley Cusack-winning Grand Line), the aggressive charging trio of McCarty, Kiki Malfoy and Kris Draper.) Moonbathing is the latest undergird of a punk-heavy rock outfit—with influences including Iggy and the Stooges and the MC5—is something McCarty's been doing for seven years. Each fall season the band would play a handful of shows in and around Detroit, and in 2002 they found two weeks to write and record a debut CD, *Gods Rock Ahead*, in the home studio of Motor City musician and hockey fan Rod Koen (the album is available in Canada; this week).

But momentum is hard to catch by when your front man is MIA for eight months of the year. Now, in this holiday-less winter, the band's gotten considerably tighter—McCartney's voice is stronger, and he's developed a stage presence not unlike his rugged

'I TELL these guys I have the same passion for music I did back then with hockey. I want it to be legit, I want to be good.'

The Red Wing, shown in blackette, black, releases his band's debut CD this week.

hockey style. Grier is able to give new songs time to breathe, and the group has undertaken a real tour, with stops in North on Michigan, Los Angeles, Las Vegas and Chicago. They hit Queens in March.

After Grindler's raucous two-night stand in Vegas, Chicago buys the prize. The band is scheduled to do a morning show and radio interviews the day of the concert. But instead of making its way to the local TV studio, the *RV* crew set up parked at a hospital, after bassist Jim Anders suffers a severe asthma attack. McCarty, Miller and guitarist Bill Riebeli and Chris Wehrle while away the day, watching *The Simpsons* and *This Is Spinal Tap*, doing lap, playing video games and watching *Tom Hiddleston* try to beat it. Anders will recover in time for the gig. This is the last stop of the U.S. leg of the tour. And while they're exhausted and worried about their buddy, there's an undercurrent of adrenaline. "Everywhere we go," says Miller, "the biggest thing people say to all of us is, 'I need to see Darrell, he's a huge thing.' For that guy, you've got a great band. I'm totally going to come and see you again.' What more can you ask?"

Everyone on the bus has a stake in this being seen as more than McCarthy's wispy project—in people recognizing that their veteran musicians haven't given up their red hands to back a sleeping job. Some, they have a fancy car base for the first time in their careers (bought by McCarthy) and are playing Hollywood spoons awards parties in front of the likes of Barbra and Abdul Jabbal, no less—but they're also proud of the name they're making, and of their friend. "It's so inspiring to me," says Miller. "You have a guy who's jumping into our world, I try to imagine reversing the roles, I wouldn't want you to fail, let alone be any good at it."

While no one's about to call McCarray a poseur to his heavily scarred, dentally challenged face, his known others are skeptical. "I learned early what I had to do to overcome all the naysayers," he says. "It's just like starting over again, using the same skills and the same mindset as I had trying to be a hockey player since I was 8, that's what I wanted to do, and I had more people all around me I couldn't do it than why I could."

Born in Barnaby, B.C., and raised in Leamington, Ont., close to Detroit, McCarty

was an average skater but a hard worker, willing to do anything to make it to the NHL. During his summer off from Junior A, when other hockey boys were lazing about, he was bulking up and working on his cardio, taking aerobic step-dances—not exactly a macho male activity. “I tell these guys I have the same passion toward music as I did back then with hockey,” says McCarty. “I want it to be legit, I want to be good and I want it to be taken seriously.”

A devoted father of four (an eight-year-old son and three younger daughters), he's one of Detroit's most level-headed personalities, a tough guy with a big heart. He started the McCarty Cancer Foundation in 1997 as a Father's Day gift to his dad, Craig, who later died of multiple myeloma. These days, when he's not out with the band, you'll often find McCarty at an arena, watching and helping his son's team. “Golfball is the age where he knows as much about this game as I do—he can beat, brooder and deeper,” says McCarty. “To go out and give him tips and watch him do it and succeed, that's fulfilling. He was playing in a tournament and I said, ‘Man,



when you go to the net you've got to get your stick on the second you've got to stop and be ready for whatever's next.” (Score, he goes to the net, steps, the puck comes to him, he bangs it in, scores.)

“Things aren't as sweet when McCarty isn't on the ice. Opponents who mess

with a Red Wing know they'll be answering to this snapper. He can also be counted on for a few playoff points, including the Stanley Cup-winning goal in 1997. But now, with a contract that expires in three years, he's starting to see this rock band thing as a retirement plan. Even sitting in a hospital parking lot, he doesn't buy that music, McHockey, might be a young man's racket.

“Our influences are a lot older,” he says. “We look at the Stones and they can still play. Look at Paul McCartney doing the Super Bowl show.”

Going on nine hours at the hospital, the musicians on the bus are extraordinarily patient—after all, they've spent the past six months waiting on an NHL decision. And when the Chicago show is cancelled, it's nothing compared to the thought of McCarty being called back to the ice. “The other guys at Grindin' don't want to share their first year this winter. And now that the NHL season's over, they won't have to.”

MIND OVER MATTER

A brain surgeon grapples with varieties of madness in Ian McEwan's new work



The author likes to shelter his characters' lives and then chronicle the aftermath

IF THERE'S a better novelist than Ian McEwan writing in English today, it's hard to say who it might be. The British writer possesses not just scrupulous ability, but also a knack for narrative drive that pulls readers through his works. He can write exquisite love scenes, and his virtuoso set pieces—the bloody death throes of the Durskirk retreat, a busy neuroscience on his neuro-transformations of research into single, absorbing prose. McEwan's last book, *Amsterdam* (2006), which narrates his escape from the Man Booker Prize, pulled all his gifts together in a fine art masterpiece.

In one week, Saturday—shorter, more tightly focused and deeply political—picks up where it left off.

McEwan's primary technique is to structure his novels around a flash moment that shatters the stability and misperceptions of his characters—the abduction of a three-year-old girl (*The Child in Time*), a freak fatal accident (*Enduring Love*)—and then chronicle the raw emotions that are unleashed. It's no surprise that *WTI* haunts McEwan—he wrote a famous Guardian column about it four days after the terrorist attack—and no surprise that it haunts the first novel he's written since.

It's Saturday, Feb. 15, 2003, the day perhaps two million people took to the streets of London to protest the looming invasion of Iraq. Henry Perowne, eminent neurosurgeon and happy family man, is trying to make his way along the increasingly gridlocked city (shades of Leopold Bloom crossing Dublin in Ulysses), the original day

in the novel). Taking a shortcut across a closed-off road, Perowne causes a minor car accident and gets into a confrontation with a violent young man named Baxter. Later that night, doctors Perowne family reunion, Baxter reveals the surgeon's home, threatening everything Perowne cares for.

Rebels of the debate over the Iraq war are obvious, and the reader's suspense to Saturday may well feature along political

war doesn't fit from his mind. How can he, with a pair of neurologically astute children and searing memories of a badly scarred Iraq patient who sardonically calls the giant demonstration a march for “peace and sanity?” It's much the same way as many others did two years ago. Perowne sends to the pro-war position when he argues with Baxter, and to the anti-war side when he meets a hawk. Significantly, the action that brings on the Perowne family's *WTI*—the car accident—is the surgeon's own doing. And his eventual response to Baxter is both surprising and understandable.

McEwan has always complemented his story (trademark) with a side with a good modern awareness that his mores are made up, self-conscious movements shaped in a search for understanding. Here he makes a successful occasion into the mind of a brain surgeon, a character who—despite his many virtues—doesn't “get” fiction, especially revealing that on and on about the death of someone's life. In this sense, McEwan precisely makes his own prose point simply by making it his so fully known. But Perowne's blind spot is less an author's lapse than a glass for the saving grace of literature.

Clearly, McEwan wrote in his *WTI* essay, a “balance of imagination.” Art, Saturday implicitly argues, alters the worst into the miracle of others. And also the strongest connection between minds, however distant—after the novel's cruel case turns on a remembered Matthew Arnold poem. Full of urgent questions and less than obvious answers, Saturday is vintage McEwan. **B**

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THIS IS AN 'OPPORTUNITY'?

My mother's fall taught me a lot—including how grating jargon can be

MY MOTHER, WHO IS 93, had been in our house for all of two hours when she headed upstairs for a nap. Moments later, my five-year-old daughter dashed into the kitchen shouting, "Daddy, Daddy, come quick! Grandma fell down stairs!" Fortunately, my wife, Trudi, had managed to catch my mom before she did a complete cartwheel. The damage was not as bad as it could have been, considering the odds: wounded pride and a minor, non-displaced fracture of the pelvis. No surgery, only bedrest.

After her hospital stay, my mother could have gone into a nursing home to recuperate

for her overall trip home to Montreal. But Trudi and I were sure we could provide a more cheerful environment for her at our home. We converted our dining room into a convalescence ward and prepared ourselves for the full-time task of looking after a disabled senior. Terrified friends and colleagues to explain my expected absence from their lives. I received an array of kind wishes, but time tapered off. "Harry Potter" was in our situation, with my mom. She is 93? Amazing. Hope you're able to see the opportunity in all of this."

Opportunity? I felt as if I had been locked in the past. I was tempted by her well-intentioned words. After a few seconds the anger passed—but why the strong reaction?

I work as a consultant in organizational change. I always encourage my clients to see the positive in any situation, no matter how difficult. I know the road and the theories. I see the jargon all the time. Never "problems," always "opportunities." Never "complainting," always "seeing the upside." Never "getting stuck," always "moving on." But now I was on the receiving end of all of this blather. And it felt worse.

When we empathize with someone during a painful time, we are offering our support. Empathy sounds like, "I understand how you feel. It must be tough right now." But when we encourage others to "see the positive side" of a difficult situation, we are reminding them: There have been times when I've approved coaching—difficult career decisions, coping with important life passages,

etc.—but after my mother fell down the stairs, and I made plans to take care of her at home, I didn't want unwanted admonitions. I wanted support, encouragement, even practical advice. I didn't want a coach.

Perhaps it comes down to this: we can offer support to someone under stress, but we should not offer coaching unless asked.

My mother's planned four-day visit lasted almost four weeks before she was strong enough for the drive back to Montreal. Was I able to "see the opportunity in all of this?"



Yes, actually. A layman in fatherhood, I've only recently come to understand the accompanying hard work that comes with raising kids. In helping my mother to recuperate, I had a unique chance to step through some more adult worlds. "Thanks, now I know how tough it was."

But this new understanding came at a cost. Some elderly people spiral downward after such an injury; I feared this my mother might meet that final slide. For the first 10 days, we could not leave her alone. At first, she couldn't stand or use a walker without assistance. Every day brought the same

chores: medications, meals, bathing, changing sheets, laundry and so on. All my free time vanished. Between children—we have a nine-year-old daughter as well as our five-year-old—and elders, I'd become an instant member of the sandwich generation. And there wasn't enough of me to go around.

I had to acknowledge that all my lofty principles about taking care of my mother were shattered by my resentment. But what did I gain by hearing the angry, selfish voice inside me raging against the extra work, the grinding routine of good nursing care, the sheer relentlessness of it all?

At work these days I am no longer so quick to shower my clients with sunny encouragement and positive affirmations. I try to respect their need to acknowledge what they are feeling before changing my attitude on them. I thought my job as a consultant was to help people adjust to that which they cannot control. Now I see that what I must also be considered of their need to handle as much on their own as they can.

Fortunately our patient was graceful throughout. My mother coped admirably well with her loss of privacy and the restrictions of her middle-aged son and daughter-in-law. Now she's back in her own home, going about her daily life as before, almost fully recovered, apart from occasionally using a walker for long distances.

Until this incident I had always seen my mother as a proudly independent woman. Suddenly she was vulnerable, quite fragile. So this is what aging is really like. I can no longer dismiss the concerns of my own extended family. May I have the courage to admit I fail as well.

"This opportunity" is far more complex than I assumed. Just don't make the point for me. Let me find out on my own. If I want your help, let me ask for it.

Bill Templeman is a writer and consultant in Interborough, Ont. To comment: overtop@post.queensu.ca



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IT'S TAX TIME, and you can already feel the tension creeping up the back of your neck. Why just that, no matter how prepared you aspire to be—no matter how many times you tell yourself that this year will be different—it always comes down to the same old time crunch? There's the reason to buy last minute RSPs, the pressure to fill out those bewildering form 1041s (which, with those long boxes, seem custom designed to generate errors in calculations), and the rush to have it all signed, sealed and postmarked by the April 30 deadline. Well, you can put away the aspirin, and for less than \$40, save yourself plenty of time—and a whole lot of aggravation—with one of the easy-to-use tax software packages now widely available. We tested four different brands for user-friendliness.

MICHAEL SANDER



THE VERDICT: If you're still shopping with the old-school, dry-as-a-flower-and-dull-as-the-tax-software, the faster, easier and more reliable than the old-school method, and since you can file your returns online, you'll never want to stop.

OUR PICK: QuickTax's interface is the most intuitive, and it offers the best range of interactive help features for beginners.



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FIRST IMPRESSIONS

The "help" menu is a treasure chest of tips and shortcuts. The software is easy to use, with a clear, intuitive interface. The software is easy to use, with a clear, intuitive interface.



Interview process is a combination of a series of intelligent questions, with a brief questionnaire at the end of each question. Answer by selecting from drop-down menus or by clicking applicable boxes. Can file tax returns online for \$29.95.



Extremely basic file drop process. Each question is divided into sub-topics, which can be easily navigated by clicking on tabs. Can file tax returns online for \$29.95.



The most popular tax software two possible presentation methods: "step-by-step," which takes you through every question in the "look up" menu, which allows you to fill in a blank form or the standard box tax form. "Browse" feature to get through the "look up" menu and fill in the form. Can file tax returns online for \$29.95.

STRENGTHS

Each section of the software is a treasure chest of tips and shortcuts. The software is easy to use, with a clear, intuitive interface. The software is easy to use, with a clear, intuitive interface.

Very simple and clear. No bells and whistles, but no tricks or confusing questions either. A good option for beginners. Can file tax returns online for \$29.95.

Extremely basic file drop process. Each question is divided into sub-topics, which can be easily navigated by clicking on tabs. Can file tax returns online for \$29.95.

"Browse" feature to get through the "look up" menu and fill in the form. Can file tax returns online for \$29.95.

WEAKNESSES

Limited to standard and simple tax returns. The software is easy to use, with a clear, intuitive interface. The software is easy to use, with a clear, intuitive interface.

Interview method, though simple, is a bit confusing. Most users' every question in the book, regardless of relevance to you. For PC users only.

Window does not maximize to fill entire screen. Help functions are hard to navigate, and very basic. Can file tax returns online for \$29.95.

Antiquated "look up" feature. Can file tax returns online for \$29.95.

TIP: Save yourself a trip to the store and a few bucks by trying the online versions of each of these software packages.

RATING

★★★★

★★★

★★

★★★★

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IT'S JUST NOT NEIGHBOURLY

Sure, be mad at Ottawa. But now the provinces are mad at one another.

WE ARE GATHERED TODAY to consider the problem of horizontal jealousy. I'm afraid it's not quite as hot as it sounds.

Since last summer, John McCallum, the federal revenue minister, has been scouring the federal budget for billions of dollars he can shift from old programs toward more productive new programs. McCallum has met 17 times with members of the Liberal caucus to get their input. Where should the government cut? What should it protect? Once it's fired up all that state cash, where should it spend?

McCallum says two messages overwhelmed everything else his Liberal colleagues told him. First, they said, don't favour another part of the country over mine. "I knew regional balance was important," McCallum says, "but I didn't realize how important."

Second, Liberals told him, don't take money from federal programs and send it in cheques to the provinces.

As it turns out, the same concerns that obsess Liberal MPs—regional jealousy and the federal-provincial divide—are starting to divide provincial politics to an unprecedented extent.

Two weeks ago, I wrote about the harmonic rest Paul Martin stirred up by handing Newfoundland Premier Danny Williams a \$2-billion cheque in compensation for shirking equalization payments. Other provinces started demanding special deals of their own: \$3 billion for Quebec, \$4 billion for Saskatchewan, \$5 billion for Ontario.

So far, so familiar, right? Martin wanted differently at the provincial grilling. "Sometimes provincial governments think the best way to get re-elected is to run against the federal government. That goes back 150 years."

True. But the game had already changed by the time he said that, and it has changed in an important new way. The provinces are, indeed, used to being mad at Ottawa. But now they're getting mad at one another.

Look at Dalton McGuinty. The Ontario premier faces a big budget deficit. The trans-



honsured response is to blame Ottawa. But McGuinty introduced a nasty rant. He said the imbalance isn't just vertical—federal-provincial—it's horizontal. He started complaining about his neighbours.

"Why is it that an immigrant who lands in Montreal gets \$3,800 of federal support, but an immigrant who lands here gets just over \$800 in federal support?" McGuinty asked. "How can that be fair?"

Saskatchewan's Lorne Calvert, too, looked concerned and felt troubled. Why shouldn't he get billions for his resource revenues, just as Danny Williams did? "It's a question of fairness and equity."

Resentment of Ottawa is built into the Canadian system. Resentment of the neighbouring provinces is more novel. More corrosive, too. And more is on the way. Let me tell you about a fascinating paper Scott Chaudhry, an associate professor of law at the University of Toronto, wrote earlier this year.

Ottawa pays \$2.3 billion more into Canada than it receives in federal-government services, Chaudhry wrote, "an astonishing and potentially explosive figure." The surprise, he wrote, is that "in the war of numbers that characterizes the politics of fiscal federalism, this figure has never been mentioned in public." Why? Chaudhry says it's because Canadians understand that co-operation is fundamental to the country's success, and inter-regional bickering undermines that co-operation.

But now the explosive cat is out of the bag. McGuinty is telling anyone who'll listen that the rest of Canada is into Ottawa's pocket to the tune of more than \$20 billion a year. Simply wrong, to will increase regional conflict. Chaudhry argues two other issues will add fuel to the fire.

The first is the so-called cities agenda. Canada's population is clumping into a few big cities whose distribution across the country doesn't really match the provincial map at all. Either the bigger cities—Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, Montreal—will get special resources for their special needs, which will upset people in more thinly populated provinces. Or they won't, which will upset people in the big cities.

The second wrench in the works is immigration. Of the 1.2 million immigrants to Canada between 1996 and 2001, three-quarters settled in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. Let's put that another way: about as many immigrants settled in Toronto in those five years as there were people living in Newfoundland. Either you address those new Torontoites' concerns and get everyone mad at Ontario, or you ignore them and get Ontario mad at everyone else.

So these classic Liberal obsessions—cities, immigration and federalism—are increasing in dangerous and unpredictable ways. Very little of this is Paul Martin's fault. But all of it is his problem. Ours too. □

The cartoonist: background illustrations by David Paul Wells's notepad, "Invisible Walls," at www.macleans.ca/paulwells



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